Middle schools: a sociological interpretation of their development and practice

Thesis

MIDDLE SCHOOLS : A SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT AND PRACTICE.

by

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THIS IS TO CERTIFY that the above work which is being submitted by me for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Open University is entirely the result of my own independent investigation except where quotation is specifically acknowledged and that it has not been accepted already in substance for any degree and is not being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree.

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ABSTRACT

Middle schools as separate and distinct institutions are still a relatively recent feature in the maintained school system in England. This new category of schools is not a homogeneous one. The two main types of middle school cater for pupils aged either 8 - 12 or 9 - 13 years, but there are other variants whose pupils are in the age range 9 - 12, 10 - 13 and 10 - 14 years. Administratively middle schools are 'deemed' either primary or secondary .

First, this study sets out to analyse the development of middle schools in England within the context of comprehensive secondary school re-organisation. Then the decision to adopt middle schools of different types in two L.E.A.'s is examined in some detail. The intention is to explore how far decision making at the L.E.A. level about the form of school systems illustrates the considerations which appear to operate at the level of central government. In the second part, aspects of life in two specific middle schools are explored from the points of view of teachers and pupils. Again the intention is to explore how far and in what ways issues relating to middle school planning at the central and local government level make their impact in particular schools. The central theme throughout this study is the degree of congruence between the rhetoric used to legitimate middle schools and the reality experienced within them.

The problem of linking 'macro' and 'micro' levels of analysis is a familiar and persistent one in the sociology of education. In this study a theoretical synthesis to link decisions made about middle schools at central government, local education authority and school level is made by way of an adaptation of exchange theory. It is suggested that this theoretical stance both clarifies and illuminates the data presented in the thesis and provides a framework in which future middle school developments can be located and interpreted.

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C O N T E N T S

Chapter 1.

INTRODUCTION.

The advent of middle schools has presented substantial challenges to classroom practice and theories of educational change. Such schools have existed in England for a little over ten years. Most have been created from former junior and secondary modern schools; few have been purpose built. But it is not only buildings which have been converted. Teachers too have been challenged to accept new roles as their professional horizons have been re-drawn as a result of the introduction of different and untried patterns of schooling. The competing claims of the class teacher and specialist subject approaches, as well as the long standing questions concerning who shall be taught what and when, have received a new institutional twist in the middle school. These are very practical considerations at the centre of the day to day routine in classrooms.

Even a limited knowledge of the history of education shows that schools are not autonomous institutions; they reflect in several ways the structure and values of the society of which they are part. There is no reason to assume that middle schools do not conform to this generalisation. Why and how a new form of school provision has emerged in recent years, and how it is sustained or challenged calls for explanation as well as description. Such interpretation needs to be located in a wider conceptual framework which takes cognisance of social structures, group perspectives and individual perceptions. The extent to which these can complement one another and form a coherent position vis-a-vis the establishment of middle schools and social life within them poses the main theoretical challenge.

The theme of this study is to try and explore the interrelation between planning and decision making relating to middle schools at the national, local and individual school levels. To borrow a metaphor

from photography, the aim is first to focus on the national scene, then gradually "zoom in" on two Local Education Authorities, and finally observe life in two middle schools. Within this framework, the contents of this study can be considered as two connected halves. The first is concerned with a description and analysis of the events leading to the establishment of middle schools nationally and in the Local Education Authorities of Wallasey and Chester. This description and analysis forms the content of Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7. The second part is mainly concerned with teachers' perceptions of their professional practice in the two case study schools, St. Michael's and The Rowland Hutty Middle School. This is the substance of an extended Chapter 10. Many of the characteristics attributed to middle schools during the early 1970's rested more on conjecture than demonstration. Because of this the case studies of St. Michael's and Rowland Hutty are preceded by an empirical assessment of particular attainments by pupils within the middle years of schooling, but in schools of different types. These data are described and analysed in Chapter 8. Chapter 9 examines pupils' perceptions of transfer between these various kinds of school. These two Chapters, 8 and 9, attempt to situate the case studies in a more factual context.

From this outline of contents it can be seen that the various data fall within different levels of sociological analysis. These range from a concern with structural issues at a societal level to individual perceptions which traditionally fit within social psychological domain. It is not the purpose of this study to seek an original theoretical synthesis which would illuminate and clarify adequately these disparate data, but an attempt is made to go beyond an eclectic selection of macro and micro sociological theories. The principal components of this problem are set out in Chapter 3. The strengths and weaknesses of the mainstream functionalist and conflict positions are first assessed

and then contrasted with the thrust of the interactionist perspective. A solution to the problem of a theoretical synthesis between these different emphases is attempted through an adaptation of exchange theory. The implications of these different theoretical stances for research methodology are taken up specifically in the early parts of Chapters 8, 9 and 10.

If the form of school systems is in part determined by situational constraints, so too are research projects. The resources upon which the research team or individual researcher can draw, profoundly influence the scope, design and implementation of the project. This study has been undertaken on a part-time basis with no secondment. The planning, data gathering and analysis have been "fitted in" between the writer's teaching commitments in a College of Higher Education. Most vacations since 1974 have been spent working in the offices of two Local Education Authorities, interviewing teachers and administrators, and teaching in different types of school for short periods. These constraints have necessarily extended the time scale of the study, but a real attempt has been made whenever possible to gather information in the situation where the action occurs. This study is an attempt to understand and contribute towards an innovation in educational practice; it is an exercise in professional self-development.

The first issue to be resolved in any research project is the nature and extent of the problem under investigation. In this case the label middle school meant different things to various people, even within the teaching profession. To some it was a separate building for pupils whose age span varies between eight and twelve, nine and twelve, and ten and thirteen years. To others it was an administrative category within "all through" comprehensive schools which are organised in terms of lower, middle and upper school. For this study middle schools are

taken to be separate buildings for children aged either eight to twelve, or nine to thirteen, or ten to thirteen years. Although the organisation of phases of schooling varies considerably nationwide, the notion of the middle years of schooling is much more precise. This embraces the age range eight to thirteen years where compulsory schooling extends from five to sixteen. The terms middle school and middle years are complementary, but not synonymous.

Although the term middle school was becoming familiar within the maintained system during the early 1970's, the potential growth of such schools was purely speculative. This aspect, then, constitutes both part of the research problem, and the context in which the local studies need to be situated. Teachers and pupils see the consequences of national and local government decisions concerning education at first hand in schools. These decisions set limits to, if they do not define, life in classrooms.

Wallasey, with its scheduled nine to thirteen system, and Chester, with middle schools for the eight to twelve age range, were chosen as the two Authorities with three tier comprehensive provision purely for convenience. They were nearest to the writer's place of work and there was no reason to suppose that they were unrepresentative of other Local Authorities that had chosen or were considering three tier systems for the re-organisation of schools along comprehensive lines. Soon after this research had begun, these two Education Authorities were absorbed in 1974 into the new local government Authorities of Wirral and Cheshire. Because most of Wallasey's middle schools were formed from former secondary modern buildings, a school with a similar history was chosen for the middle school case study in Chester. In fact only two of Chester's middle schools were housed in former secondary modern buildings, and the head teacher at one of them was seriously ill when sampling decisions

were being made. It is for this reason that the catchment areas of the two case study schools could not be matched more precisely. (Chapter 10 refers).

Considerations as to what constitutes appropriate data and evidence are fundamental to any enquiry. Schools Branch 1 of the Department of Education and Science have been helpful in making available statistics relating to the growth of middle schools, but the categories used by the Department are not necessarily the most informative. Reference to the significance of descriptive statistics in this context is made in Chapter 4. The pattern of middle schools which emerges calls for explanation as well as description. This explanation would be greatly facilitated by access to the papers and evidence which the decision makers used. In this respect the Department were unable either to sanction access to the papers used by the Central Advisory Council (England) in the preparation of their report, "Children and their Primary Schools" or give details about the numbers and location of middle school schemes which had been submitted and rejected. Problems of this kind are familiar to the historian of recent events. Fortunately, however, several individuals closely associated with middle school developments at the national level have made available their papers and recollections of events. This evidence was given in confidence and so to maintain this confidentiality several attributions are simply referenced, "Personal Papers". Whenever possible publicly citable evidence is given to substantiate the contention.

Both Local Authorities granted unrestricted access to the papers germane to the re-organisation of schools in their areas. This evidence necessarily includes letters, particularly from the Department which are still classified and were written to the Local Authorities on the assumption that their contents were confidential. For this reason, such

documents are referred to as either Wallasey or Chester Papers. No official is named unless his position can be identified publicly, e.g. Chief Education Officer or Chairman of the Education Committee. Officers of the D.E.S. and Her Majesty's Inspectorate are designated D.E.S. Official 1 or H.M.I. A., etc. Where such papers are already included in the Local Authority's archives, the appropriate document reference is given. The descriptions of re-organisation in Wallasey and Chester are given in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively.

Similarly the schools data are presented anonymously. All the names given to schools in Wallasey and Chester are fictitious. In one way this complicates the narrative for the local reader who will be able to identify actual schools without too much difficulty. This decision to use fictitious names for schools was made at the request of the officers within one of the Local Authorities; the other was prepared for actual schools to be named. The request for anonymity by school staff was understandable. The interviews with teachers were designed to explore individuals' honest perceptions of their work situation, and the possibility that their statements could be personally attributable would have restricted respondents' comments. Accordingly teachers are described by letters of the alphabet. If teachers require anonymity, so too do pupils. For this category, pupils are only identified by the school to which they belong. The details of the precise coding procedures are given in Chapters 8 and 9.

The interviews with administrators, politicians and teachers took place in a variety of situations. Most occurred at the individual's place of work, some kindly invited the writer to their homes and, without exception, everyone was ready to discuss fully their part in and their perceptions of the middle school issue. During each interview notes were taken and a summary of the discussion was written up shortly afterwards. Several of those interviewed subsequently expressed their

further observations in letters to the writer, sometimes including documents to which they had referred during the interview.

From this brief introduction, which sets out the scope and content of the study, it should be apparent that there is no single research strategy or methodology which is equally appropriate to the various levels of analysis and kinds of data. The contention is, however, that there is a continuity in the theoretical underpinning which both illuminates the disparate data and gives the study a structured coherence. The degree of confidence with which this assertion can be defended must be assessed when all the evidence has been presented. This assessment provides the substance of the concluding section.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE RELATING TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND.

The emergence of middle schools in England must be seen as part of the wider movement towards the establishment of comprehensive secondary education. By focussing upon middle schools this study is identifying one aspect of a complex issue. Although the advent of middle schools has proved to be controversial, the literature on middle schools is still not extensive and remains mostly speculative. This is not surprising because middle schools in this country have a brief history. The course of developments which are described in Chapter 4 provided the context in which the first papers on middle schools and education in the middle years were written. The nineteen sixties can be identified as a formative period in the re-organisation of secondary schooling from the literature which emerged as well as the products of political and administrative decisions.

The pioneer re-organisation proposals in Leicestershire and the West Riding of Yorkshire led their Chief Education Officers, Stuart C. Mason and Sir Alec Clegg respectively, to publish discussion papers which have proved to be seminal documents in the formulation of a rationale for middle schools. Their ideas, which had been maturing for several years, were distributed to a wider audience than the local committees for whom they were first prepared with the publication in 1965 of a booklet entitled "Comprehensive Planning". This consisted of a collection of articles written by the Chief Education Officers of Bradford, Cardiff, Coventry, Durham, Glasgow, Leicestershire, Liverpool, Stoke-on-Trent and the West Riding of Yorkshire. The articles described six main types of re-organisation, namely the eleven to eighteen all through comprehensive school, four types of two tier scheme (one of which included a Sixth Form College), and one three tier scheme. The article on Coventry by W.L. Chinn records that a

working party was set up by the Education Committee in 1962 to re-examine the organisation of secondary education within the City, with its mixed system of comprehensive, grammar and secondary modern schools. During its deliberations a three tier scheme was considered. The reasons for "a kind of middle school" were given as "partly in the commonly accepted practice of attempting to define "stages" in the educational and emotional development of children and partly in the difference often found in the teaching methods adopted ... in the different stages of education". In a paragraph which anticipated several important arguments to come the author warned, "If secondary school standards are to be maintained, then the middle schools would have to achieve standards at thirteen plus comparable to those at present reached". Mr. Chinn noted also two other issues: the supply of suitably qualified teachers in specific subject areas and the desirability of a more common practice in the transition from one stage of education to another, particularly in the light of greater population movements. From this essay, it would appear that Coventry was one of the earliest Local Education Authorities to appraise the merits and disadvantages of the middle school.

Also in the volume Sir Alec Clegg adumbrated the West Riding proposals which had first been published in October, 1963, by the West Riding Education Committee. These proposals were designed to meet the demand of a number of Divisional Executives which were desirous of introducing comprehensive education in their areas, but were unable to provide it in large schools for pupils aged eleven to eighteen.

A second pamphlet was published separately by the West Riding L.E.A. in May, 1965. This set out the reasons why "a short span arrangement" would have to be preferred in most instances to the "long span school". Sir Alec emphasised that comprehension derived from the absence of social and educational selection and not from a particular age range. From the

West Riding documents and the articles included in Comprehensive Planning (1965). it would appear that the West Riding was the initiator of middle schools in England. At this time the influential planning documents constituted the middle school literature.

In August, 1963, the Central Advisory Council (England) had been asked "to consider primary education in all its aspects, and the transition to secondary education". The Council reported its findings in November, 1966. This report, "Children and their Primary Schools" (1967), is usually named after its Chairman, Lady Plowden. The index to Volume 1 has no separate entry for middle schools; the reader must refer to junior schools. Under this heading where middle schools appear, the following topics are listed: ages of entry and transfer, origin and progress, size and streaming. Paragraphs 360-387 deal successively with "The Length of the Infant Course" and "Should the age of transfer to secondary education be raised?" Whether this should be twelve or thirteen is discussed in paragraphs 379-387. Middle schools are referred to in paragraphs 381-384, but the term is not explained until paragraph 406. Plowden suggested that the new structure for primary education made a change of names desirable. Because it was felt that the parents of eight year olds will not want them called infants, and the twelve year olds whose older siblings would have been in secondary schools at that age would object to being called juniors, Plowden recommended the term "first school" for the five to eight age group and "middle school" for the eight to twelves. Where the schools cater for the five to twelve age range, Plowden suggested "Combined School". Two form entry was accepted for the optimum size for the first school (i.e. approximately 240 children) and two to three form entry for the middle school (i.e. between 300 and 450 children). The pupil teacher ratio was calculated to be 40:1, except for the eleven to twelve year olds in the middle school where classes of thirty should be the norm.

Considering the specific direction in the terms of reference to the

issue of transfer between primary and secondary schooling, it is perhaps surprising that Plowden did not commission a research project into the age of transfer question, similar to that which the Committee did set up to investigate the importance of parental attitude in pupils' attainment. Instead, they chose to draw upon the contemporaneous researches of Nisbet and Entwistle (1966 a; 1966 b). Plowden considered the arguments in favour of twelve and thirteen as the upper age of transfer to be equally balanced, but concluded "on nearly every count it seems to us that the balance of advantage is just with twelve year old transfer", (para.385). Paragraph 393 urged that a uniform nationwide age of transfer was necessary, but this proposal was pre-empted by D.E.S. Circular 13/66 which permitted, as an interim measure, L.E.A.'s to determine their own age of transfer.

D.E.S. Building Bulletin No.35 entitled "New Problems in School Design. Middle Schools: Implications of transfer at twelve or thirteen years" was also issued in 1966. An official handout which accompanied this Bulletin explained that the publication was the second of a series of Building Bulletins prepared by the Architects and Buildings Branch of the Department to give guidance on the planning of schools to those Authorities which wished to change the age of transfer to secondary schools from eleven years. Such a proposal affected the whole organisation of education below secondary level (and it can be added, above it). There was little experience of such organisations, and the suggestions made in the Bulletins were not intended to be definitive. Examples were given of possible layouts of new schools for eight to twelves and nine to thirteens. Proposals and suggestions were made regarding the methods of converting existing primary school buildings for middle school purposes. There was also a description and plan of a new middle school to be built at Delf Hill, Bradford, which had been designed by the D.E.S.

Architects and Building Branch Development Group working in collaboration with Bradford L.E.A. In the Bulletin accommodation standards were arbitrarily fixed because no referents existed, although official regulations to meet the position were in the course of preparation. The political significance of both Circular 13/66 and Building Bulletin No.35 is assessed in Chapter 4.

The views of some of the early leading figures in the middle school movement were published in a booklet entitled "The Middle School - a Symposium", (1967). The contributors included L.J. Burrows, then Chief Inspector of Schools, Sir Alec Clegg, Kenneth Rowland and Reese Edwards. Judith Murphy and Robert Findley presented interesting and informative observations on the American middle school. From this time onwards, the notion of the middle years of schooling, as distinct from the age of transfer question, became an educational issue in its own right. In his contribution to this volume Sir Alec Clegg developed the arguments first presented in the two West Riding Reports. His thesis was that many primary and secondary teachers shared a belief that there is a similarity in the kinds of interests and needs and ways of learning of children within the nine to thirteen years age group. These could be better catered for if they could be brought into the same school where forms of organisation and ways of working might be developed which would enable these needs to be satisfied more effectively than in a system where the break between schools is at eleven. At that time this argument needed to be demonstrated.

In April, 1968, Maureen O'Connor reported on the foundling middle school and shrewdly noted that the middle school would be with us long before the arguments about its merits had run their course. Initially there had been some difficulty in finding an appropriate name for these intermediate schools, but eventually the term middle school was widely

accepted to describe a concept which varied from an extended primary school to a school resembling the American junior high school. The latter mainly catered for the ten to fourteens in a system in which most pupils continued in school until the age of eighteen. In this country considerable disagreement was developing between those who favoured an eight to twelve organisation and those who preferred a school for the nine to thirteen age span. Some viewed the middle school as an extension of the primary school, while others saw it as a more radical change in the existing structure. Burrows, Clegg and Rowland were among those who advocated the nine to thirteen school.

An informative article on "The Middle School" by C. Gillespie appeared in the summer issue of the Educational Developments Association's publication "Educational Development." Gillespie drew attention in the first place to the reluctance displayed in Circular 12/64 to give official approval to middle school proposals. Although the Education Act, 1964, had enabled L.E.A.'s to submit experimental schemes for middle schools, it was made clear in Circular 12/64 that the intention was to permit a relatively small number of limited experiments in educational organisation. The reversal of this policy within the space of two years is analysed in Chapter 4. Gillespie concluded with the forthright comment: "It must be stressed that if the change in structure into a pattern of first, middle and terminal schools is to be anything more than a reshuffle of age ranges, it will require a deep consideration of what we do in schools, why we do it and how we carry it out, and this discussion will demand something which the teaching community have not been particularly noted for - unity and co-operation with one another." (1968, p.6)

It was precisely these issues which provided the theme for the conference on middle schools arranged by Dorset L.E.A. at Exeter University in April, 1968. A report of the proceedings was subsequently issued

by the Institute of Education at Exeter in its "Themes in Education" series, (1968). The papers given at this conference illustrated the emerging rationale for middle schools: the physical and the physiological growth of children, the aims and purpose of the middle school, and continuity between the first and third tier levels. The speakers, too, represented the leading counsel of the middle school advocates. Most notable were H.M.I. Miss Stella Duncan, who was much concerned with drafting the Plowden Report, and Mr. and Mrs. D. L. Medd, from the D.E.S. Architects and Building Branch, who were key figures in both the writing of Building Bulletin No.35 and the design of Delf Hill Middle School, Bradford.

About this time, the West Riding of Yorkshire Education Committee issued a further booklet, "Preparation for Middle Schools in certain areas of the West Riding", (this booklet has no publication date). This document followed the decision of a number of Divisional Executives in its area to introduce a three tier pattern of comprehensive education including not only a five to nine, nine to thirteen, thirteen to eighteen pattern, but also in some districts a five to eight, eight to twelve and twelve to eighteen scheme. This booklet reviewed the Authority's thinking about middle school organisation. It dealt successively with the age ranges of middle schools, continuity from school to school, alternative approaches to planning a middle school, modifications to existing buildings (particularly former secondary accommodation, unlike Building Bulletin No.35), in-service training and curriculum development; it was in effect a policy statement by the L.E.A.

1969 saw a crop of further occasional publications and conferences on the middle school theme. The leading advocates from the pioneer Authorities were now joined by the first headmasters of the new middle schools. Probably the most notable were J. S. Nicholson of Delf Hill, Bradford, and G. F. Mitchell of Setting Dyke Junior High School, Hull.

The message was carried by some almost with the fervour of a religious crusade. The Association of Assistant Masters issued "Some Notes on the Middle School", (1969) and the Merton Association for the Advancement of State Education prepared a pamphlet on "Middle Schools in Merton." This seems to be one of the first of many publications which describe the local situation.

Also during 1969 the first major contribution to the literature on middle schools in England was published. This was the Schools Council Working Paper No.22, "The Middle Years of Schooling". This volume consists of the collected papers given at a conference held at the University of Warwick in 1967, organised by the Schools Council, under the auspices of its Steering Committee for primary education. This conference was part of the Schools Council's programme for following up the Plowden Report. Its stated aim was to "stimulate discussion about the kind of curriculum most suited to the needs of pupils between the ages of eight to thirteen." The papers covered the by now familiar themes of aims and objectives, curriculum and internal organisation of middle schools. But even at this early stage, doubt was being expressed by some participants as to whether the eight to thirteen range really possessed a central character based on physical, mental and social development, or whether an attempt was being made to erect an educational philosophy in order to support an administrative convenience related to the use of existing buildings and the saving of money. Again the contributors to this conference were inevitably dealing with theoretical and conjectural matters, since at that time only one middle school existed in the country.

One positive consequence which emerged from the fairly rapid development of middle schools without substantial supportive evidence in the early 1970's has been the preparation of academic theses and dissertations by

many involved in middle years education. Understandably the conclusions of very few of these have been publicly reported. When this level of literature is considered as a category, however, some clearly identifiable themes emerge. The majority of studies have focussed upon the organisational consequences for a specific school when it became "middle". This concern is to be expected in the light of the more generalised arguments described above. Of particular relevance to this emphasis are the studies by Mitchell (1971), Parry (1972), Roper (1973), Holness (1973), and Haywood-Hicks (1975). The comments by the Head Teacher of Clarendon School at a seminar at the University of London Institute, and which were subsequently published in the journal "Educational Administration" (1977), provide especial insights and these are incorporated into the discussions on the Rowland Hutty and St. Michael's Middle Schools in Chapter 10 of this thesis.

Another major theme is the problems associated with the transfer of pupils between schools. The studies by Glozier (1974), Williams (1974), Carrat (1975) and Piggott (1977) represent the dominant approach to this problem, but in most of these dissertations and theses, the theoretical considerations which underpin the data are left implicit. Pupils' perception of transfer is the concern of Chapter 9 of this study, where Piggott's research, which is the most substantial of the studies cited here, is appraised. A research report by the City of Birmingham Education Development Centre, "Continuity in Education: Project 5" (1975) is interesting in this context because it describes a small scale piece of co-operative research.

The studies presented by Grainge (1969), Whalley (1972) and Didham (1975) illustrate a third area of interest: the role of the teacher and head teacher in different kinds of middle school. In the light of the

several conference themes on middle years education in the late 1960's, it is not surprising that curricular issues feature strongly in the research lists. Studies by Morris (1971), Kitson (1973), Conner (1974), Harris (1975), Joslin (1975) and Clark (1975) cover most areas of the curriculum.

Perhaps as significant as the subject matter of these dissertations and theses is the location of the universities where they were registered. From the bibliography, it would seem that the Universities of Southampton and Lancaster and Sheffield Polytechnic particularly encouraged small scale research on middle school issues. Southampton and Sheffield were two cities which adopted middle schools in significant numbers, and Professor Ross of Lancaster University was a dominant figure in the Schools Council's projects on curriculum in the middle years. Given that there are some middle schools in Merton, Harrow, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire and Surrey, it would not have been surprising to find the London Institute of Education playing a fuller role in middle school education, although Rosewell (1970) did initiate a number of early small research projects, and Clarendon's (op. cit.) more recent paper suggests a research concern remains. Conversely, Nottinghamshire only has a few middle schools in Mansfield, but there is an identifiable middle school research interest within the Education Department at Nottingham University. The importance of diffusion centres to the spread of middle schools is commented upon in Chapter 4.

Official recognition for the middle school first came with the publication of two pamphlets by the D.E.S., "Launching the Middle School" (1970) and "Towards the Middle School" (1970). The significance of the first of these is noted in Chapter 4. The second, "Towards the Middle School", presented a general survey and discussion of middle schools. Tentative advice was given on the curriculum, deployment of staff, building and equipment. It has been noted earlier that such advice

could only be tentative because by then only a handful of maintained middle schools existed and these were in their infancy. Although it was acknowledged in this pamphlet that the forms of educational organisation are not absolute; that they are pragmatic responses to current problems, made within an historical context, influenced by the objectives which arise from that context and by resources in teachers, buildings and money that are available, it is significant that the first chapter is devoted to a sketch of the developmental characteristics of boys and girls aged eight to thirteen. Like the Plowden Report, it seems that legitimation for a distinct second tier school must be in "scientific" terms.

The Schools Council Middle Years of Schooling Project (1972) set the tone for over thirty different curriculum projects, sponsored by the Schools Council, which focussed upon the needs of teachers and pupils in the middle years, not just middle schools. The curriculum is perhaps the major site for the conflicting pressures in the middle school. Of course these conflicts are not particular to the middle school, but it is at this stage of a pupil's schooling that arguments as to whether the curriculum should be conceived in terms of "areas of knowledge" or separate subjects are brought into sharp relief. "The Curriculum in the Middle Years" (Schools Council Working Paper No.55, 1975) examines these positions in considerable detail. How these curricular arguments are resolved for particular schools has immediate and far reaching consequences for their internal organisation. This interdependence between curriculum and school organisation has provided the starting point for theoretical excursions in the sociology of education. Two instances of such potential conflict are identified in Chapter 10 of this study when the introduction of integrated environmental studies programmes is described in two particular schools.

The first appraisal of the middle school experiment was an astringent study by Reese Edwards, (1972). This is a lucid and penetrating account of the early stages of middle school developments in which the author assesses fairly the importance of the early comprehensive schemes in Leicestershire and the West Riding, and to which reference has already been made. Reese Edwards was not convinced by Sir Alec's advocacy of the nine to thirteen school, and he was even less enamoured with the middle school for the ten to thirteen year olds. The inability of the middle school enthusiasts to decide from which age span the main appeal of a separate second tier school derives is made in a very telling way in this book. The possibility that the organisation of the middle school in England could mirror the American middle school for the ten to fourteen year old pupil strengthened his misgivings about the middle school for the older pupils. Reese Edwards' book was written from an especially interesting vantage point: his immediate successor as Chief Education Officer for Wigan introduced four middle schools for the 10 to thirteen year old pupil before moving - after a very short stay - to nearby Rochdale, where a small number of ten to thirteen middle schools already existed.

It has been noted above that a significant extension in the middle school literature occurred in the early 1970's when middle school topics became a focus for dissertations and theses. A corollary of this development was the publication of articles on middle schools in educational journals. Forum and Education 3-13 became the two main journals in which middle school issues were raised. Volume 15 No.3 (1973) of Forum concentrated on middle schools. Caroline Benn detailed the facts and figures relating to the early establishment of middle schools. In separate articles, Campbell, Davies and Ross surveyed the problems and assessed the priorities of curriculum planning, while Freeland offered a visitor's view of middle schools in Southampton. Colin Kefford (1973,

pp. 41-46) first reflected on "Taking the muddle out of the middle" in Education 3-13, while Ken Charles (1974, pp. 9-12) offered some early observations from the head teacher's view of middle school organisation.

During 1975 the question of middle schools received considerable attention in the educational press. Sir Alec Clegg and Barry Taylor, Chief Education Officer for Somerset, once again were proclaiming the virtues of the middle school idea. The transcript of a radio discussion between these two middle school entrepeneurs and James Scotland, Principal of Aberdeen College of Education, was published in the Listener, (Vaughan, 1975). Their theme was one that had been central to middle schools since their inception: how to meet the demands of the academically less able and the very bright pupil without deploying selective mechanisms within the middle school. This same question was taken up briefly by Stuart Maclure in two issues of the Times Educational Supplement, dated 18th April and 4th July, 1975. Maclure suggested that perhaps some of the difficulties experienced in the American middle school could be overcome by developing middle schools for the eleven to fourteen age group, and then Local Education Authorities could develop schemes which would permit "choices" for pupils aged over fourteen. Much of this was reminiscent of the debate surrounding the earlier Leicestershire Plan. In the Times Educational Supplement of 3rd October, 1975, one head teacher voiced a complaint which was to become much more widespread; middle schools were receiving an unfairly small share of local education funds and resources.

Although the number of occasional articles on middle school education was not insignificant by the mid seventies, only two books had been published in addition to Edwards' volume. These were Culling (1973), "Teaching in the Middle School", and Gannon and Whalley (1975), "Middle Schools". Gannon and Whalley's book well illustrates the level of the middle school debate by 1975: abundant enthusiasm, valuable practical advice for the teacher in specific classroom situations, as well as an

unwilling recognition that middle schools are not autonomous institutions. This latter consideration seems to be put aside whenever possible. Gannon and Whalley pay an almost ritual acknowledgement to Plowden to justify their message. The frequency with which the Plowden Report is quoted in the literature on middle schools as a legitimating strategy is an interesting point in itself because, as Lady Plowden has frequently maintained, the Central Advisory Council was concerned with primary education in all its aspects. Middle schools were only one aspect of the report, and as such not a main one. Gannon and Whalley's emphasis on the Plowden arguments is also noteworthy because Gannon is Head of a nine to thirteen school, while Whalley, at that time, was Head of a ten to thirteen school. Reese Edwards' point about the pupils' age span and the middle school identity could not be better illustrated. The four case studies presented by Gannon and Whalley are the most disappointing part of this book. While the authors may well not have set out to provide ethnographic descriptions of the schools considered, two of the four descriptions are very brief. Gannon's description of Milefield is the most informative; he does locate the school within its geographical and social environment, as well as describe succinctly the influence of the physical arrangement of resources upon curriculum and pedagogy. Certainly the roles of subject specialist, the year tutor or co-ordinator and the pupil are crucial to understanding life in most middle schools, but in case studies by authors who extol the virtue of "personalised learning", perhaps the perceptions of a French specialist, for example, a year tutor and pupils could have been expressed in their own words.

The tensions which have been inherent in the middle school situation since the beginning were explored more fully in a survey undertaken by

the Assistant Masters' Association, (1976). In the introduction to their report the Assistant Masters state that they set out to show the advantages and disadvantages of middle schools. The advantages claimed included easing the transition from small primary to large secondary schools on the grounds that smaller schools are better. Many argue that primary school enthusiasm is maintained until thirteen, behaviour problems are fewer, and the eleven plus "execution" is avoided. The disadvantages which were emerging, however, were substantial: the eight to twelve middle schools tended to be extended primary schools and standards seemed to be suffering. There was less specialist subject teaching and less time on transfer to the thirteen to eighteen third tier school to prepare for examinations. The Assistant Masters concluded that the middle school system had been introduced in too many areas on the grounds of administrative convenience rather than for educational reasons, but it must be noted here that their evidence, too, tended to be anecdotal.

This report understandably produced a further spate of articles in the Times Educational Supplement, (Cameron, 1976; Cohen, 1976: Doe, 1976), under such titles as "Middle Schools in Chaos", "The end of the middle?" and "Middle Schools not up to scratch." A less despondent picture was portrayed by Razzell, (1976) in his piece "The effect is neutral." Razzell could speak from some experience: he had contributed to the Warwick Conference some nine years previously, and, at the time of writing this particular article, was a head teacher in one of Surrey's middle schools. From this review it becomes increasingly clear that by the mid 1970's the middle school had become an arena of conflict for different sectional interest groups.

Bryan and Hardcastle (1977) identified some of these tensions more specifically, and alluded to the existence of influential interest groups, but they did not describe their form in any detail. Their paper was

more speculative than substantive for two reasons: much of the evidence which Bryan had accumulated was confidential and publication at that stage could have hindered his further enquiries. Already the D.E.S. had refused Lady Plowden's request to grant Bryan access to her Central Advisory Council papers. (Personal correspondence). Secondly the paper was intended to elicit information which could be cited without breach of confidence. The content of these further enquiries forms the substance of Chapters 4, 5 and 6 of this study. Commenting on Bryan and Hardcastle's argument, Hargreaves and Warwick (1978, p.22) understandably remarked that it "is not merely a product of conspiratorial tendencies among the politicians and administrators of education, who are .... fouling up the processes leading to a more open society." The theoretical considerations which Hargreaves and Warwick presumably had in mind are explored in Chapter 3

The most substantial assessment to date of the origins and development of middle schools is that by Blyth and Derricott, (1977). Professor Blyth and Ray Derricott, both of the University of Liverpool, had been Director and Deputy Director, respectively, of the Schools Council project, "History, Geography and Social Science, 8-13". They see middle schools as the products of conflict and describe them as "tangential institutions" whose growth can be explained in terms of political, economic and demographic factors. It is a truism that schools reflect the society of which they are part, and there is no reason to assume that the factors which influence other forms of schooling do not apply similarly to middle schools.

Blyth and Derricott's data on life in middle schools are derived from several visits to various middle schools which represent the national scene. Generally their impressions are optimistic: democratic organisational patterns characterise the schools they visited, most were "palpably relaxed and amicable places" with few signs of overt tension.

Whatever the conflicting forces which have given rise to the middle school, they appear to be well managed within these new institutions. The difficulties which they did observe appeared to be temporary, and in their view could be resolved in the longer term by continued consultation and communication. The case studies presented in Chapter 10 make a thoughtful contrast to the experiences described by Blyth and Derricott. Although the authors do conclude that different age ranges for transfer "were rarely a form of discontent", they do note that this issue has been largely ignored in previous studies on middle schools. This matter is taken up in Chapter 9 of this study.

But the feature which distinguishes Blyth and Derricott's study from those of Edwards (1972), Gannon and Whalley, (1975) and more recently Burrows, (1978) is that they offer "a more speculative and 'theoretical' interpretation" of the development of middle schools. Presumably Blyth and Derricott place the word theoretical in inverted commas because they combine a mainstream sociological perspective, conflict theory, with a concept derived from geology, that of tectonic plates. The result is a model, the purpose of which is to help explain middle school development.

Geologically speaking, when tectonic plates move they create surface eruptions along the interface where these plates meet, but earthquakes and volcanoes do not only occur over tectonic movements. Blyth and Derricott suggest that this provides an appropriate metaphor for understanding the effects of social movements. When social forces conflict Blyth and Derricott postulate the creation of two types of social institution which they call tangential and residual. The term tangential describes institutions which emerge when social forces meet head on, while residual refers to those institutions which remain in "the rift valleys of society". Examples of the social pressures which Blyth and

Derricott have in mind include the competing educational and economic systems, and the ideologies of selective and non-selective schooling. To Blyth and Derricott, middle schools are tangential institutions because they have emerged at a tangent when these social forces are in direct conflict.

Although this model possesses several attractions, particularly in that it locates middle schools in the context of conflict and change, it is not fully convincing. First, the emergence of middle schools does appear to be more patterned than Blyth and Derricott suggest. Middle schools have appeared where some of the pressures to which they refer are difficult to identify. More particularly, however, this model is essentially mechanistic, and this does present difficulties for a sociological interpretation. The decision to institute middle schools in particular localities was taken by groups of people who responded to and interpreted the developments around them. For this reason a more action oriented theoretical framework is desirable. Although this study was begun before Blyth and Derricott's book was prepared, its publication underlines the point that an adequate interpretation of middle schools must be located in an appropriate theoretical framework. This issue is considered in the next chapter.

One of the most recent contributions to the middle school literature is by L.J. Burrows, (1978). Entitled "The Middle School - High Road or Dead End?", this book is intended for those "people who take an active interest in English education, but who do not necessarily need either statistical or technical detail". Burrows briefly explains how the middle school idea arose, and attempts to meet some of the more critical observations (Bryan and Hardcastle, op. cit.) on the pattern of early middle school development. He acknowledged that administrative convenience and political motives gave considerable impetus to the middle

school, "but we examined their strong justification, and there surely is no discredit in adopting an educationally sound programme because it also happens to suit a political one." (1978, p.30). Bryan and Hardcastle's point was that at the time political and administrative considerations were played down, if not denied. Some questions still remain: when Burrows states "the decision to set up middle schools is essentially a local one .... The Department of Education and Science lays down no obligatory guidelines", (1978, p.33), one wonders whether the Kent submission crossed his mind. As with Gannon and Whalley's contribution, Burrow's observations on professional practice within the school provide the practising teacher with valuable guidance on the curriculum. His notion of "pacemaker schools" is a helpful one in understanding the diffusion of curricular innovation and organisational flexibility. But whether middle schools really do offer "a high road of educational advance" still remains to be seen. The kind of argument which he is still deploying is essentially the same as that used in "The Middle School - a Symposium", (1967).

During 1978, Education 3-13 (vol. 6, Nos. 1 and 2) dealt thematically with the middle years of schooling. Professor Blyth was guest editor for these two editions which were notable for bringing together articles by several teachers, advisers, lecturers and inspectors who have developed a detailed interest in middle schools during the 1970's. The contents of these two volumes referred to organisational and curricular developments at the national and local level. Bryan and Hardcastle analysed national policy towards middle years and middle schools; Hargreaves and Warwick questioned the ideological bases of middle schools, Duncan described Plowden's concern for standards, while Dearden reflected more widely on the recommendations of the Central Advisory Council. Various local situations were described by Barrett, Cuff, Moran and

Gorwood. Coltham surveyed the middle years without middle schools. Volume 6, No.2, was devoted to curriculum and assessment. Professor Ross, by now the authority on curriculum planning in the middle years, examined the contemporary call for a core curriculum with reference to middle schools. H.M.I. Marjoram's contribution on "The A.P.U. and Assessment in the Middle Years" is one of his few public statements on middle school thinking, but few H.M.I.'s were closer than he to the appraisal of middle school submissions by Local Education Authorities during the early 1970's. Norman Booth H.M.I. assessed "Science in the Middle Years", Snow and Reid discussed the Schools Council Project "Home Economics in the Middle Years", and Eileen Harries, of the London Borough of Merton, explored "Curriculum constraints in Social Studies".

In addition to the content of these articles, their publication in Education 3-13 is significant because it identifies publicly the emergence of a very flexible, yet informal structure of middle school interest. A Middle Schools Research Group which was formed early in 1977 has no official membership, but an extensive list of participants. Many of the above contributors belong to this Group. Later this year a middle schools reader entitled, "Middle Schools: their origins, ideology and practice", edited by Hargreaves and Tickle (1980) is to be published, and this represents the latest contribution by this Research Group to the middle schools and middle years debate. Also forthcoming is Hargreaves' "Sociology of the Middle School ".

On several occasions during this study allusions are made to middle schools in the U.S.A. There is an extensive literature on this subject, much of which predates that reviewed in relation to the English middle school. The basic texts on the American middle school include Eichorn (1966), Murphy (1965), Alexander (1968) and more recently Curtis, (1977).

The journal Education Leadership documents many developments in American middle school education since the mid-sixties. An appraisal of the most substantial researches between 1968 and 1974 is reported in Educational Leadership, (1975, Vol. 32). Studies which have been accepted for Master's degrees and Doctorates are listed in American Dissertation Abstracts.

Familiarity with the American literature has contributed to this study in two ways. First, it has helped to clarify how the American experience was used by the English middle school entrepreneurs to support the case for middle schools here during the 1960's. Once middle schools became a reality in England few, if any, American studies were cited to justify a particular three tier pattern. Secondly, this literature suggests some tentative hypotheses from which this study has evolved.

A reading of the American and English middle school literature makes clear that the societal context for their development is significantly different in the two countries; the call for the abolition of selection and separatism at a particular age is not part of the American perspective. The contributions to the English middle schools debate indicate that a small number of educationalists played a major role in establishing a case for middle schools. How and in what circumstances this evolved would appear to be a key question for a sociological interpretation. Finally, since much of the literature focusses upon the internal organisation and curriculum of the middle school, the extent to which these are constrained by factors external to the school certainly requires exploration.

To summarise, the middle school literature has provoked the present writer to seek evidence to substantiate or refute assertion, and to raise questions where much seems to be taken for granted.

SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

The data with which this study is concerned fall within different administrative categories in the provision of schooling. At the level of central government, middle schools are an integral part of the re-organisation of secondary education along comprehensive lines. The reasons why certain Local Education Authorities chose three tier systems involving different kinds of middle school are primarily matters of decision making at the local government level. What happens within particular schools requires an analysis of social processes at the institutional level. These administrative categories are the concern of both the macro and micro levels of sociological analysis.

Bernstein (1974, p.145) has stated aptly that "Sociology is carried out in a historical context, and its approaches and problems are an expression of that context." Even during the decade in which middle schools became a reality, the major axes of sociological analysis have been repositioned more than once. This labile state of theory within the sociological enterprise is not recent; it has existed since the inception of the discipline. The roots of this uncertainty grow from the contentious ground of what is meant by "social". On the one hand descriptive individualists insist that all group concepts can in principle be re-defined in terms of individual behaviour. On the other, descriptive holists argue that supra individual group properties can be attributed to social phenomena. There has long been a deep disagreement between those who concentrate on individualistic explanations and those who favour holistic descriptions at the level of social structure. At issue is the fundamental question of whether a different kind of theory is required to explain large scale events to that appropriate at the small scale or micro level. Put another way, is society simply "the small group writ large" or is it essentially different ? This contention is frequently described in terms of the relative claims and merits of

interactionist vis-a-vis structuralist theories. This search for sound theoretical foundations within the parent discipline has in recent years significantly affected the practice of the sociology of education.

The interdependence between theoretical perspectives, levels of analysis and appropriate methodology can be presented in tabular form, as in Tab. 3:1.

Tab.3:1

Theoretical perspective.	Level of analysis.	Research Method.
Structuralist	Macro	Positivist
Interactionist	Micro	Hermeneutic

This presentation is useful to illustrate the essence of the respective positions. It must be stressed, however, that the various categories are not mutually exclusive, and the following description sets out to identify their complementary nature as well as their essential differences.

These different approaches to the sociology of education carry important implications for theory and method. Until the late nineteen sixties, the traditional approach to the sociology of education was founded on a structural-functional basis. By the end of this decade, this framework was under attack by the advocates of the "new" sociology who drew their inspiration from the symbolic interactionist and social phenomenological traditions. Briefly a humanistic sociology was in the ascendant. This ascendancy, however, was short lived. Now, inspired by writings in America and Europe, structural theorists who embrace both relatively crude economic determinist positions and complex neo-Marxist analyses are particularly influential.

Although the strengths and weaknesses of these several positions have been analysed more fully elsewhere (see for example, Dawe 1970, Rex 1974, Pahl 1975, Sarup 1978), a brief appraisal of the essential arguments is appropriate to this study. Structuralist and interactionist

theories, respectively, are the mainstream approaches to the study of interaction on the large and small scale. Whereas some structural sociologists stress the function of consensus in the wider society, others maintain that conflict is endemic to the social process. Those who assert the central position of consensus argue that constraint in some form is necessary because individuals of their own will and volition cannot create and maintain order. Without such constraint society would fall apart. In some way society must define the social meanings, relations and actions of its members. Society is assigned priority over individuals, and it fulfils a self-regulating and self-maintaining function. Implicit in this conception is a notion of a social homeostatic mechanism (Dawe, 1970). Order and consensus are vital to the social system. They influence individuals in a normative way.

Structural-functionalism is the most well known and developed of the sociological theories which are included in the normative category. Common to each of these is the assumption that sociology is, or should operate as if it were, a natural science. In Walsh's words, "a scientific paradigm performs not only cognitive functions, but also normative functions" (1977, p.46). This is understood to mean that the paradigm supplies not only a map of nature, but also the rules for map making. Although it should be stressed that there is no one scientific method, the so-called hypothetico-deductive method has had a pervasive influence on procedural strategies in the investigation of natural and social phenomena. Some consider the data of social science to be amenable to theoretical formulations and methodological procedures similar to those applied in Physics or Chemistry, for example. The authors of these theories propagate or practice "objective" procedures, regardless of whether they utilise mechanical, field theoretical or biological models (Wagner, 1974). Their assumption is that "law like" generalisations will emerge from their study of society and that knowledge acquired will have

social utility. To them sociology appears as a value free tool. For these reasons the normative model is said to be "positivist" in approach (Giddens, 1975). But this use of the word normative does create unease in some quarters. In a sense the natural science paradigm can be seen as non-normative, unless the apple ought to fall on Newton's head, and it is suggested that any explanation can facilitate action. If this is not the case, is there any point to social science at all ? Perhaps there is an ambiguity in the word normative which describes (i) what are the norms of society ? and (ii) what should I do ? For the study of education this contention does have important consequences for how educational problems are defined and appraised.

Until the nineteen sixties most sociological analyses of both education and society, and of schools as organisations drew upon this structural-functional tradition. Education was viewed as a sub-system of society and changes in the wider social structure had important repercussions for the quantity and quality of schooling, which in turn affected the political system. Given that in English society generally, role allocation has been moving from an ascriptive to a meritocratic basis, education has become a critical mechanism in social mobility. The pursuit of educational opportunity is vital to the maintenance of an industrial society. Who, how and when people should be educated have become explicit political questions. The researches of Halsey (1958), Douglas (1964), Hopper (1971) in the U.K. complemented the work of Turner (1964), Coleman (1966) and Jencks (1973) in the U.S.A., and that of Husen (1974) in Sweden. This evidence shows clearly that the problem is not specific to individual countries. Expressions such as "pools of ability" and "wastage of talent" describe the assumed explicit link between education and the economy. That the concerted movement towards comprehensive secondary schooling in this country coincided with Harold

Wilson's vision of the "white hot technological revolution" further emphasises the same point.

The positivist paradigm was equally pervasive at the micro level of analysis. When surveying "Organisational Analysis in the Field of Education", Hoyle (1965) maintained that "sociology seeks to transcend a simple descriptive approach and to discover meaningful concepts which can be built into empirically testable hypotheses". Thus when studying the school as an organisation, there is the need to identify a conceptual, theoretical and empirical framework. To illustrate his point Hoyle refers to the work of Parsons (1959), Blau and Scott (1964) and Etzioni (1964). Central to Hoyle's appraisal of the general theories of organisations is the complex interdependence between the impact of environmental factors and the effects of the particular organisation. Structural-functionalists maintain that the different responses of members, whether they are workers, patients, inmates or pupils, can largely be explained in terms of the structural characteristics of the organisation to which they belong. This type of analysis tends to focus upon the intended and unintended outcomes of the impersonal processes which are considered to be intrinsic to the organisation in question. It is through these processes that the organisation maintains itself and adapts to its environment. In this perspective the concept of school structure implies the existence of organisational arrangements that distinguish one type of school from another, and schools as a class from other formal institutions. The possible significance of this approach to this study is that structural differences between schools are important to the extent that they influence the product and process of education. Thus the school is part of the pupils' environment, and to quote Macluan (1967, p.68), "Environments are not passive wrappings, but are rather active processes which are invisible." Although Talcott Parsons is frequently quoted as the arch

functionalist, it is worth remembering that he described his perspective as a "theory of action".

The writings of M.F.D. Young et als (1971), Filmer (1972) and Cicourel (1973) openly challenged the dominant position of the structural functionalists. Although quickly dubbed the "new" sociologists, the thrust of their arguments had been articulated by philosophers for several decades. Their theoretical position, then, was not new, but previously it had not been applied systematically to the study of schools and schooling in this country. According to Karabel and Halsey (1977, p. 54), the "new" sociology of education is almost a British phenomenon, presumably in the sense that it happened only here, and that here it seemed "new".

Where the normative sociologists were primarily concerned with systems analysis, the central value system and the notion of order, the interactionists stressed man's autonomous status. Man could only realise his full potential when freed from such external constraints. From an interactionist perspective society is seen as the creation of its members, i.e. the product of their construction of meanings, and of the action and relationships through which they attempt to impose that meaning on their historical situation (Dawe, 1970). The thesis runs as follows: when people come together in various forms of social relationship, certain meanings become shared or assumed to be shared between them. Social interaction is governed by individuals' background expectancies. Thus social data must be understood in terms of these expectations and unstated assumptions. Our perceptions - or constructions - of reality, then, are formed by the activity of social interaction. Reality is not something which is external to the individual. Social phenomenology is mainly concerned with "common sense construction of reality" and not with the analysis of specific intellectual consciousness or something separate from everyday knowledge. Knowledge is an integral part of the social structure.

Phenomenology rejects the implicit dichotomy between "everyday" and "elite" knowledge. Rather it maintains "a precise connection between the social relationships and the meanings those relationships have to the participants to the extent that the nature of those relationships and the structure of their intersubjective meaning defines the structure and content of all knowledge" (Hamilton, 1974 p.135).

Alfred Schutz (1962, 1970) has perhaps been most responsible for developing social phenomenology from its philosophical foundations to a social application. His central point is that social reality is to be seen as a meaning construct, rather than any natural reality: it exists only as far as it has meaning for the participants. Thus social science cannot be considered naturalistically because it involves the study of "meaning structures", the ways in which social relations are constructed in terms of their "givenness" as intentional objects. Any analysis of social structures, says Schutz, must be wholly in terms of interpretive criteria, or hermeneutics. Put another way, all traces of positivism must be removed from sociology. Thus the social phenomenologist maintains that to try and study society in a natural scientific way destroys any possibility of understanding the true meaning of social reality as something constructed by the consciousness of individual actors. If social reality is constructed by men's consciousness, then its nature can only be studied "reflexively", i.e. by acts of pure reflection.

In their book "The Social Construction of Reality", Berger and Luckmann (1967), adopt Schutz's position and set out to achieve a synthesis of his ideas with selected aspects of the thoughts of Durkheim, Weber and Marx. Particularly they draw on Mead's symbolic interactionist framework to "explain" how knowledge is internalised by the socialisation process. For Berger and Luckmann, sociology is concerned with different kinds of knowledge about different levels of reality in society. A rigorous

assessment of the details and merits of this attempted synthesis is beyond the scope of this review. What is significant for our purpose is the consequences which the adoption of this interpretive approach has had for the scope and procedures of the sociology of education. The focus of the sociology of education became intensified at the micro level of analysis, and a methodological consequence was an abandonment of the search for "causes", say of failure or poor pupil motivation, for example. The search for causes has been replaced by a preoccupation with the illumination of meaning.

Initially one of the most distinctive characteristics of the "new" sociology of education was its dismissive view of the normative model. Dale (1972, pp14-15) drawing heavily on the work of Silverman (1970) emphasised the limitations of the functionalist approach, particularly when it was applied to the study of schools as organisations. He argued that the functionalist approach directs attention to the consequences rather than the causes of social phenomena; it assumes that causes are inherent in the consequences, and most importantly it "neglects the subjectively meaningful nature of social life". Those who adopt the interactionist perspective contend that "it is possible to come to grips with the subjective meaning attached to typical actions and to their intended and unintended consequences for the involvement of the actors, for their perceived place within the organisation, and for the stability of the common set of expectations within which they interact" (Dale, op. cit., p.13). Interactionists claim that social structures derive from the interaction between the participants, and the degree of consensus or conflict depends on the individual's perception of means and ends. Methodologically, say Schutz, the social scientist must "step out" of the social world of practical interests and explain the social world as he sees it. This is done through a process of ideal type reconstruction which is judged in

terms of relevance, consistency and compatibility. Parsons, however, saw this as "at best philosophy".

These theoretical considerations were used to underpin a series of case studies which set out to explore in detail the "taken for granted" life in schools and classrooms. The curriculum and the categories used by teachers were seen as central research questions. The studies of Shipman (1971), Keddie (1971) and Jenks (1977), for example, illustrate this concern. Participant observation and extended interviews replaced the questionnaire and standardised attitude scale. What for the positivist were the weakest experimental procedures became for the interactionist the means for the illumination of meaning. In the event, it has been stated that the influential position of this "new" sociology was short lived. Probably this is because of the intrinsic limitations of the theory.

Whether in principle generalisations about large scale or small group social interaction can be reduced to statements about individuals remains unresolved. It is doubtful whether one can have meaningful descriptions about individuals without reference to the social context. The concept of individual achievement, for example, presupposes a comparison with group standards. Certainly it is not a practical possibility within the present state of sociological expertise. The attempt by phenomenologists to explain social structure in terms of the effects of contemporary behaviour is also unsatisfactory. The present does constrain the future. For example, the present age structure of society cannot be altered in the short term, and this necessarily has consequences for the future age structure. Similarly the present social structure is not independent of the past. Archer (1979, p.19) succinctly evaluates this problem: "empirical questions of this kind cannot be decided by theoretical fiat". This failure to take adequate account of the social constraints in "every day life" is a serious weakness in the interactionist position. There are

limits imposed on the "negotiation of meanings". Certain groups are able to ensure their definition of the situation prevails rather than others. The recognition of this reality brings into immediate focus the question of the sources and distribution of power in society. Interactions at the small scale situational level may well reflect structural considerations.

It is important to emphasise that structural considerations refer not only to actual social relations in the real world, but to a level of generality which is identified by theoretical practice rather than a product of observation. Such theoretical practice seeks to explore the structure which underpins social relations. In this sense, structure is the syntax or grammar of social life. The sociologist's concern is to elaborate theoretical categories appropriate to the various levels of society (e.g. polity or ideology) and to explore how these levels relate to each other within the whole which constitutes the reality of social relations.

Marx was one of the first social theoreticians to see a congruence between the techniques of science and economic conditions, and he suggested that the tools of Biology, Chemistry or Physics could be used to understand the opposing economic units or groups within society. To Marx there is an inevitable clash between groups having different economic interests. Such ideas made a seminal contribution to the development of conflict theory. More recently Dahrendorf (1959) has emphasised conflict at the political rather than economic and historical levels. Certain groups whether they are corporations, political parties or local pressure groups compete for positions of authority in terms of their interests. Within this frame of reference conflict is not part of a grand historical perspective, but simply another process by which society adjusts. Conflict then is endemic to the social process.

According to Weber and Marx it reflects sectional interest, and the socialisation of members varies systematically within each interest group. Although conflict has long been acknowledged within the functionalist model, there it is seen primarily as a manifestation of disequilibrium consequent upon the increased division of labour within society and the new roles which are acquired. To the functionalist, the educational system is a means for offering social mobility, while conflict theorists in the neo-Marxist tradition stress the role of education either in maintaining a system of structural inequality or of over-throwing it.

This position is developed by Bowles and Gintis (1976) in their analysis of "Schooling in Capitalist America". The thrust of Bowles and Gintis's argument is that there is a close correspondence between the social relations of production and the social relations of education. They consistently maintain that the educational system is a crucial element in the reproduction of the division of labour. The workings of the educational system cannot be understood independently of the class structure of which it is part. Both through class linked inequality of educational achievement, and through different socialisation by social class, the educational system reinforces inequalities based on the production process.

Functionalist and Marxist theories differ significantly in that the former emphasises the "goodness of fit" between cognitive characteristics and the allocation to the various productive roles. Marxists emphasise the importance of non-cognitive factors, such as personality, motivation, response to authority and the internalisation of work norms in the access to occupational status. According to Bowles and Gintis (1977, p.68), "the emphasis on intelligence as the basis for economic success serves to legitimate an authoritarian, hierarchical, stratified and unequal economic system of production, and to reconcile the individual to his or

her objective position within this system". Many Marxists maintain that "the social relations of production" are the major factors which determine stratification, and to Bowles and Gintis I.Q. is used as a strategy for legitimating these social relations in the minds of workers.

At the micro level of analysis, Sharp and Green (1975) have articulated from a Marxist stance a telling critique of the functionalist and interpretive models as applied to education. It is an empirical fact that there are regularities in social behaviour and these regularities are not reducible, in practice, to the simple sum of individuals' actions. In other words, the social structure is more than symbolic. An adequate sociological theory in Sharp and Green's view must attempt to account for these regularities at the levels of cause and effect and of meaning. They argue that on the one hand, a strictly functionalist position fails to take sufficient account of the "creative" dimension in social action, and that on the other hand, an extreme phenomenological framework does not explain why certain institutionalised meanings emerge from one practice rather than another. Sharp and Green seek a synthesis between individual careers and the historical process.

Following Weber and Marx, Sharp and Green see social structure as something more than a "constellation of meaning". They reject the view that the starting point for sociological enquiry should necessarily be the subjective categories of actors, and social scientific conceptions of reality should merely be "second order constructs", to use Schutz's vocabulary. Sharp and Green's position depends on the Marxian notion of how a society understands itself needs to be distinguished from how that society exists objectively. They try to formulate conceptualisations of situations in which individuals find themselves in terms of the structures of opportunities and constraints which such contexts provide (Sharp and Green 1975, p.22). Of course, the extent to which the individual is conscious of these constraints is problematic.

The theoretical problem is not simply to find a broad synthesis which will account satisfactorily for social behaviour on the large and the small scale. It concerns also the "range" of such theories. Most sociologists have long since abandoned the search for "grand theory" in the extreme positivist tradition, i.e. the attempt to formulate propositions at a level of generality which will explain social processes at the macro and micro levels. Merton (1957) has suggested that "theories of the middle range" should aim to integrate observed empirical regularities and specific hypotheses within a relatively limited problem area. A further consideration is that the researcher has also to decide whether he is concerned primarily with theory verification or theory generation. According to Glaser and Strauss (1971), the latter "is the major task confronting sociology to-day". They seek "grounded theory": theory which emerges from empirical situations and provides relevant predictions, explanations, applications and interpretations. This point is taken up in more detail in Chapter 9.

Sharp and Green's study is an attempt to locate their observations of infant school ideas and practices within an extant sociological framework. Bernstein (1971 and 1975), using Durkheim's mechanical versus organic solidarity model, has attempted to relate the inter-dependence between aspects of the wider social structure and the transmission of knowledge. The essence of his thesis is that there is a particular conception of formal educational knowledge which is "transmitted" through "message systems". These "message systems" are curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation and are sanctioned or approved by society's institutions. By classifying curricula into either "collected" or "integrated" codes, and describing how that knowledge is taught and learned, in terms of the notions of "frame", Bernstein has sought to analyse the institutionalisation of knowledge. "For the many socialisation into knowledge is

socialisation into order, the existing order, into the experience that the world's educational knowledge is impermeable" (Bernstein 1971, p.196).

How far Bernstein's paper on the "Classification and Framing of Knowledge" constitutes a genuine theoretical development rather than a sophisticated theoretical game remains contentions (Pring, 1975). It is an attempt to generate theory, but to the writer's knowledge, it has not yet been verified (King 1976), even within the limited area of the school curriculum. To operationalise Bernstein's categories presents considerable difficulty, but despite these problems Bernstein's theory might well illuminate "what goes on" in middle schools. The review of literature has shown that middle schools are subject to material and symbolic constraints from outside, and that the form and content of the curriculum reflects sectional interest. The initial attraction of Bernstein's thesis is that it attempts a synthesis of the order and conflict, and of the macro and micro perspectives.

Although the theoretical assumptions of the functionalist and conflict theories are very different, both tend to draw upon similar empirical evidence. This data can be used to legitimate contemporary developments or to be critical of them. And in this context it is worth emphasising an important point made by Swift (1973, p. 179): "Sociology does not deal with a special class of empirical data. It brings to empirical data a special perspective."

This brief description of the competing models within contemporary sociology of education has been attempted in order to identify the various levels of sociological analysis, to ascertain whether a synthesis of theory between the various levels is at least feasible, and to note the methodological implications of these different approaches. For this study, as for all sociological descriptions, the final justification for the conceptual scheme(s) should be "its ability to organise meaningfully

the complex data of empirical reality and then throw light on otherwise confused phenomena" (Buckley, 1967 p.198).

The data which need to be evaluated within this study include (i) the irregular emergence of middle schools nationwide, (ii) what counts as appropriate evidence within and between the central and local authority when re-organisation of secondary education along comprehensive lines was being planned, (iii) to whom this evidence was made available, how and when, (iv) the identification and structure of "sectional interest groups", and (v) the differential perceptions of those associated with and affected by the decision making process. Additionally there is the need (vi) to identify the organisational structures within the school and appraise (vii) what is traditionally considered to be "objective" data in relation to pupil performance. From the summary in the first part of this chapter, it should be evident that no one "ready made" theoretical framework is likely to be sufficiently explanatory for this kind of data. But also it should be clear that whatever theoretical framework is adopted, it must take into account the potential inter-dependence between structural and interactional issues.

The recurring challenge presented in this study is to seek a co-ordinated appraisal of the empirical data within a consistent inter-related theoretical framework. The first part of this chapter has attempted to show that the focus for this data is wide and that the various categories are less than sharply defined. This description has also tried to make clear that such problems are not specific to this study. The dualistic dilemma of "men over society" and "society over men" pre-dates the inception of sociology as a discipline. Similarly the desire for a synthesis between macro and micro levels of analysis is not a new theoretical goal.

The expressed need for such a blend within the sociology of education is, however, relatively recent. It has been shown that the explicit articulation of the theoretical underpinnings to the sociology of education has only occurred within the past two decades. During this time many sociologists of education appear to have been engaged in a series of macro and micro sociological studies which have largely passed by each other. The reasons why this issue has become central to the sociology of education remain a matter for speculation. Within the scope of this study it is significant that during the initial stages of comprehensive re-organisation it was argued that the form of the school system was a vital component in facilitating social change. That the intended goals have not been realised in the way that many comprehensive advocates expected seems to be one important stimulus to the reappraisal of the links between theory and practice.

Bernstein's synthesis has theoretical appeal, but there are serious operational difficulties inherent in an experimental verification. Because these are felt to be so substantial, an alternative blend between macro and micro levels of analysis has been sought for this study. It has been said that "action theory" takes the social context for granted, and "structural theories" take no cognisance of social interaction. Even if this statement overstates the case, the point is necessarily made that both approaches on their own are inadequate.

Weber was the first to acknowledge that while individual perceptions are vital to an understanding of social processes, there are structural constraints or predispositions which encourage certain interpretations rather than others. Working within the Weberian tradition and drawing on the more recent work of Eisenstadt (1965), Archer (1979, p.35) has identified three broad analytic phases within a macro sociological consideration of social change. Phase one consists of a given structure

(a complex set of relations between parts) which conditions, but does not determine interaction. Social interaction is central to phase two. This can arise in part from action orientations unconditioned by social organisation. Phase three exists when structural modifications occur, i.e. there is a change in the relationship between parts. The transition from phases one to three is not direct because structural conditioning is not the only determinant of interaction patterns. Strict action theorists who adopt a methodological individualist position maintain that phase two is a necessary and sufficient condition for change to phase three. In their view, phase one is inappropriate. Within Archer's macro-sociological framework, social interaction (phase two) can be the origin of change, but a sufficient explanation must have regard to phase one.

The constraints or predispositions which condition social interaction are not necessarily restrictive; they can have positive consequences. Sometimes individuals or groups will act against their declared self interests. They will "pay a price" for a given goal or set of goals; others will not. For much of the time most individuals and groups will not tolerate too great a discrepancy between their values and their declared self interests. In essence, this is Weber's thesis concerning values and interests.

This notion is the hub of "exchange theory" which has established an important position within a structuralist macro sociology. According to Eisenstadt (1965) institutionalisation and exchange are two closely related concepts which can help to clarify our understanding of social change. Institutionalisation, says Eisenstadt, is "the organisation of a socially prescribed system of differential behaviour oriented to the solution of certain problems inherent in a major area of social life" (American Sociological Review, 29 (2)). He maintains that in order to

understand this process of institutionalisation adequately, it is necessary to identify: (i) the existing values and norms of a particular society which provide both the context for and constraints on the institutional process; (ii) the initial positions of the various interest groups, i.e. those favouring and those opposing change; (iii) the "media of exchange" which refers to the ways in which the various interest groups bargain and negotiate, and (iv) the "channels of exchange", e.g. the courts, parliament and particular "ad hoc" procedures. This approach emphasises the study of institutionalisation in terms of individual's and group's needs, rather than those imputed to society. Of course, not all groups or individuals feel the same needs equally. Some are more sensitive - and able to respond - to the needs for change. Sensitivity and capability are not necessarily the same. While some groups can convert their needs into the process of institutionalisation, others cannot do so on their own.

Homans (1961) and Blau (1964) have developed the concept of exchange. In Blau's words (1964, p.223): "social exchange refers to voluntary social actions of persons that are motivated by the returns they are expected to bring, and typically do bring, from others". Exchange theory, then, focusses on elementary social processes in which human groups are formed and maintained by exchange of rewards, satisfactions, esteem and the creation of common sentiments. Its basic assumption is that human behaviour can be explained more adequately in terms of cost, profit and reward than in shared values. The economic considerations which underpin the concept of exchange are central. Gouldner (1970, p.395) summarises the argument in these words: "all forms of behaviour come to be viewed as having certain market characteristics, as susceptible to variations in supply and demand, as subject to considerations of marginal utility. The effort is to get beneath morality, to discover an abiding structure

upon which morality itself depends and on which institutional survival rests. The aim is to probe underneath culturally structured roles for the more elemental units of behaviour". Put tersely men are seen as exchanging gratifications. The parallel between economic and social exchange does usefully allow the concepts of marginal utility and marginal cost to be adapted to the social context, but it should not be taken too far. Social relations are usually considered as ends in themselves, whereas economic transactions are only means to an end.

Despite this caveat, the parallel is illuminating at the macroscopic level of analysis. The process of social exchange can be seen as related to the development of social structure and the distribution of social power. "Exchange processes utilise, as it were, the self interests of individuals to produce a differentiated social structure, within which norms tend to develop that require individuals to set aside some of their personal interests for the sake of those of the collectivity. Not all social restraints are normative constraints, and those imposed by the nature of social exchange are not, at least originally." (Blau 1964, p.224). Exchange relations both form and reflect the distribution of power in society. Thus it can be seen that exchange theorists do not depend upon social norms and legitimacy to explain institutional stability. Indeed, Homans and Blau stress the subjective, interpersonal dimension. The form of these "gratifications" is not simply a consequence of the socialisation process; they are in part determined by the nature of men.

When exchange theory is incorporated into an interactionist perspective the notions of self and identity are stressed rather than cost and profit. Given that meanings are generated in social interaction, negotiation, bargaining and exchange become key concepts in the process by which a "definition of the situation" occurs. This notion of exchange,

then, can satisfactorily be located within the interpretive model described earlier. If these assumptions are accepted, the potential exists for a theoretical synthesis between macro and micro levels. Social norms and legitimacy provide a broad definition of a relationship. But within this structural context, individuals construct a perception of reality by participating in bargaining and exchange processes.

Although behavioural psychology has had a considerable influence on Homans' thinking, he does share with the advocates of the interpretive approach, whom we have described earlier, the fundamental view of men as active builders and users of social structures and social orders. Where Goffman's basic metaphor is theatre, Homans' is exchange. To Goffman (1967) the mutual acceptance of "illusions" are central to the social process; he denies that moral values or usefulness hold society together. Homans, however, maintains that it is men's reciprocal usefulness which is central to social cohesion. The underpinning of social interactionism to exchange theory should not be over emphasised, but again the link is a helpful one. Both approaches share a common stance vis-a-vis a crude structural-functional position, and exchange theory does acknowledge the "power component" within the social structure.

The attraction of exchange theory is that it holds the potential for a form of action analysis within a macro sociological framework, and this theory of action is based on power and exchange processes. This synthesis facilitates an examination of groups and institutions as well as actors and situations. The historical dimension shows that different interest groups influence change at various times. Stress and strain are an integral part of the dynamic social structure, and such stresses and strains are often unintended consequences of earlier processes. But this implied homology between exchange as a mechanism at the institutional and interpersonal level should not be accepted without reservation.

Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the final justification for the adoption of a certain theory or theories should be the contribution which it makes to the organisation of the empirical evidence and the illumination it offers to other contingent data. Also we are reminded by Piper (1975, p.48) that "the use of general sociological concepts and categories cannot offer a substitute for rigorous empirical analysis, since it is only through the trial by the latter which the former can achieve legitimation". Within the context of this study it must be stressed that the emergence of middle schools as part of the development of comprehensive education is much more complex than personal interaction. The decision making procedures in which individual groups participate are strictly rule bound and occur in very structured situations. Put briefly, exchange must be seen as "shorthand" description for a complex bargaining process.

The implications of these theoretical considerations for this study should be reasonably clear. The re-organisation of secondary schooling on comprehensive lines is an example of educational change at the societal level. While a theoretical explanation of this wider issue is beyond the remit of this study, the analysis of the emergence of middle schools should be compatible with such a more general explanation. If the introduction of comprehensive education represents a conflict situation within educational change, how far are middle schools specific "institutional adaptations", in Merton's terms ? Blau has stated that, in theory, changes which are introduced at points of least resistance usually have greater ramifications. In the review of literature it was stated that the "age of transfer" question was the Achilles' heel of the selective argument. If Circular 10/65 represents a stress point, in Blau's vocabulary, then the emergence of middle schools and the concern for a distinctive curricula for children in the middle years of schooling

may represent a very significant ramification from a point where there was little resistance to change. Following Eisenstadt and Blau, it will be necessary to identify who were the middle school "entrepreneurs" ? How and where did they articulate their interest will be key issues in this sociological appraisal. The extent to which these middle school entrepreneurs have become integrated in the new institutional framework of comprehensive secondary education is a question which derives from Eisenstadt's analysis. With whom did - and do - they interact ? What counts as resources and who controls them ? The brief assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the psychometric and phenomenological models in the early part of this chapter suggests the significance which may fairly be attributed to the "objective" data on pupil performance and the "subjective" responses of pupils and teachers.

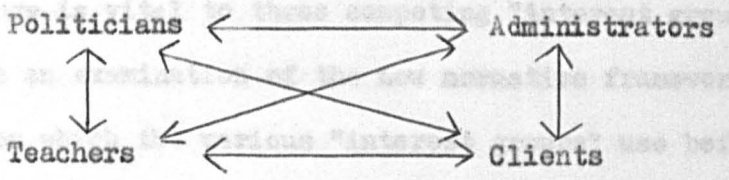
It would appear that a primary consequence of this theoretical excursion is the need to identify the various "interest groups", both for and against, involved in the middle school experiment. According to Archer (1979), the forms which educational systems take illustrate the reciprocal nature of the macro and micro levels of analysis. In her view (Archer, 1979, p.2) "education is fundamentally about what people have wanted of it and have been able to do to it." Although this assertion may appear deceptively simple, basically she is maintaining that change occurs when those who have the power to modify previous practices decide to do so. Of course such change may be vigorously contested. In Vaughan and Archer's (1971, p.26) words, "Unless lasting domination is achieved, a process may be observed in which domination is followed by assertion, which may provoke a period of transition and possibly a new period of domination. The degree to which these groups involved in institutional conflict are in fact observable from more pervasive social conflicts will depend upon the extent to which education is integrated with other institutions." At any given time, then, the contemporaneous

orthodox position simply represents the outcome of previous struggles. The "dominant" groups are continually being challenged, more or less successfully, by other groups who "assert" a different set of goals.

The schooling process has often been depicted in terms of inter-dependent relationships between various groups who have a differential investment in the process. Politicians, Administrators, Teachers, and Pupils and Parents (as Clients) are familiar categories. In more general terms, the Politicians are the Policy Makers, the D.E.S. and L.E.A. Officials the Administrators, and the Teachers are predominantly Technicians. It is significant to the decision making process that, with perhaps the exception of the pupils, each group has an organisation to represent its interests.

Adapting a representation by Swift (1969, p. 60), these relationships can be illustrated schematically as follows :

Fig. 3:1



This over simple representation identifies the organic interdependence between the various groups, but the symmetry should not be construed as implying an equal balance of power between the four groups. Pupils clearly have less powers than teachers or administrators in determining how schools work. Also it should not be assumed that each group necessarily possesses common norms and perceptions. Conflict and strain may be as influential as consensus and co-ordination in the dynamics of the relationships. This framework avoids the problem of distinguishing between the assumed needs of society and of particular groups, and then assessing their interdependence; it assumes that all needs are group needs.

Conceptually it is easy to locate individual roles within these groups. Politicians are elected representatives to the Education

Authority, while Administrators are salaried personnel of it. Practically things are not that simple. The Chairman of the Education Committee, for example, is by definition a politician, but an essential skill of the position is administrative efficiency. Similarly, the Chief Education Officer, who is a "pure" administrator, exercises major political influence by the way he appraises technical evidence and to whom he makes it available and when. Both negotiate extensions to their role.

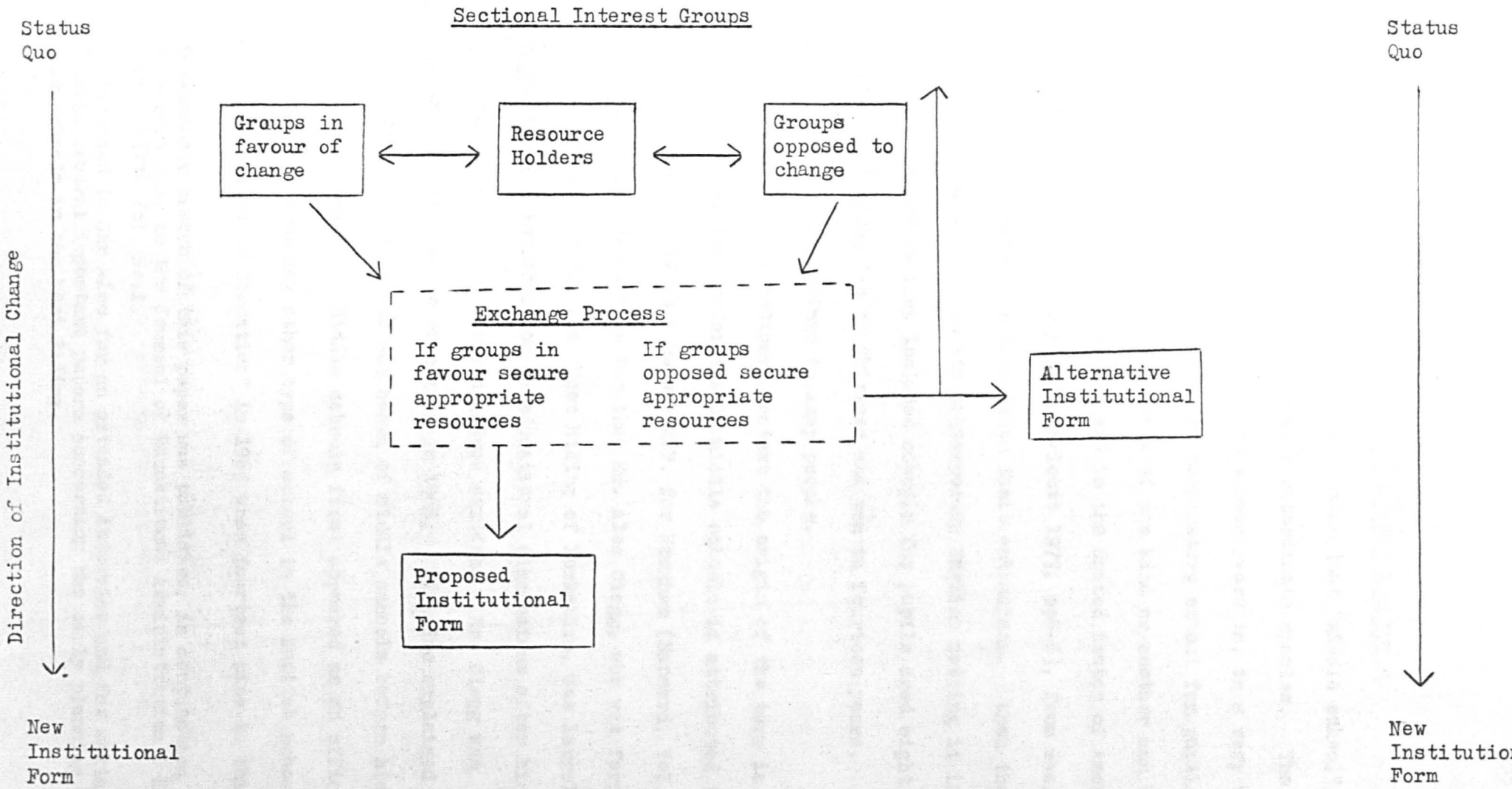
In his analysis of the development of comprehensive schooling in England and Wales, Piper (1975) has suggested a dynamic model of institutional change in education. This sets out to identify groups who hold various strategic positions. The model postulates groups who favour and those who oppose a particular example of educational change. Secondly it stresses the importance of resources and resource holders. The process of exchange is vital to these competing "interest groups". The model facilitates an examination of the new normative framework, as well as the strategies which the various "interest groups" use before and after institutionalisation.

Piper (1975, p.49) refers to "groups, individuals or categories which possess various norms, values, articulative potentials and perceptions of the situation" who either perceive a need and are motivated to create a new institution, and those who oppose such a development because in their view either it is unnecessary or a preferable alternative is available. The resource holders are a key group who are able to provide or withhold resources for the new institutional framework depending on their perception of the legitimacy of the proposals. The process of exchange is central. Which groups are successful depends upon their relative powers and capacities to integrate the resource holders either more fully into the "status quo" or the new institutional framework.

If no consensus is reached the process stops. Where agreement is achieved, resources are made available to support the new institutional framework. The groups which have unsuccessfully opposed the change are likely to continue with their adherence to the old norms and remain external to the new framework or they formulate new strategies. Where new institutions come into being they will be assessed by their architects. Depending on whether they are satisfied or not, this group will either become the new orthodox position or seek further change.

This model derives from the theoretical position adopted earlier in this chapter. It takes cognisance of the structural and contextual variables to the extent that they modify individual perceptions and goals. Most importantly, it holds the potential to illuminate and clarify the empirical data of this study. But like all models, it is only an aid to understanding the social process; it is not necessarily an accurate description of it. Operationally, the distinction between the various "interest groups" and the resource holders may be more apparent than real. It may well be that there is no consensus within the specified groups. For example, the introduction of comprehensive secondary education was not the unanimous policy of all the teacher unions in the nineteen sixties. The model does not explicitly take into account under which circumstances particular groups might be motivated to initiate change. One or more of them might be in a better position to facilitate the resources deemed necessary for the successful accomplishment of the change. Such resources are not necessarily material; especially in education there is a need to justify the change in terms of appropriate rhetoric. Certainly education cannot be explained solely in terms of group goals and power equations. Overall, however, the merits appear to outweigh the limitations. There is sufficient warrant, sociologically, to attempt to validate the model in the context of the emergence of middle schools in England. This model is presented figuratively on p. 54.

FIG. 3:2 DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE



Chapter 4.

THE EMERGENCE OF MIDDLE SCHOOLS : THE EDUCATIONAL RHETORIC AND THE ECONOMIC REALITY.*

It will be remembered from the Introduction that "middle school" is a generic title which comprehends several subordinate species. The school catering for pupils aged seven to eleven years is, in a very real sense, a species of the genus as is the preparatory school for pupils aged eight to thirteen. Middle schools of one kind or another can be found in New Zealand, much of Europe and in the United States of America, (Rosewell 1972, pp68-69; Blyth and Derricott 1977, pp5-6), from where most of the English advocates have drawn their enthusiasm. When the title middle school is used in its contemporary English setting it is still generic because we find included schools for pupils aged eight to twelve, nine to twelve, ten to thirteen and ten to fourteen years. The concept still means many things to many people.

Within the English educational context the origin of the term is uncertain. The earliest reference to middle schools is attributed to Mr. Idwal Roberts in 1942 when he was M.P. for Wrexham (Hansard, Vol. 697, p.1422), but it seems that the then Mr. Alec Clegg, who was formerly Chief Education Officer for the West Riding of Yorkshire, was largely responsible for its introduction to educational discussions after his visits to the U.S.A. in the early nineteen sixties. Mr. Clegg was knighted for his services to education in 1965. Sir Alec explained to the present writer that he had not heard of middle schools before his first trip to America.(1) Middle schools first appeared as an official category different from any other type of school in the English school system in "Statistics of Education" in 1969 when fourteen nine to thirteen

* A preliminary sketch of this paper was published, in conjunction with K.W. Hardcastle, in the Journal of Educational Administration & History, January, 1977, Vol. No.1.

(1) I am indebted to Sir Alec for an extended interview and for making available several important papers concerning the early planning of middle schools in the West Riding.

middle schools and one eight to twelve middle school were listed. Further recognition came in two pamphlets, "Launching the Middle School" and "Towards the Middle School" which were published by the Department of Education and Science in 1970. The first of these drew heavily on Sir Alec's experience in the West Riding. This official recognition of middle schools as a distinct category seems to have emerged only after considerable uncertainty within the Department, and after the Central Advisory Council's (England) report on Children and their Primary Schools, (H.M.S.O., 1966) had stated the case for the middle school.

While the parentage of the middle school in England is uncertain, there is little doubt that its subsequent growth has been dependent upon other inter-related educational and political issues. First, all political parties had accepted the desirability of raising the school leaving age to sixteen years, which had been intended since 1944. Secondly, there was increasing pressure towards a national pattern of compulsory secondary schooling and thirdly, a growing concern about the appropriate age of transfer from primary to secondary schooling. These three inter-dependent issues provided the immediate context in which the 1964 Education Act was negotiated and enacted.

For some time the Labour Party had been articulating the inadequacies of selection at the age of eleven and the desirability of comprehensive schooling, (Parkinson, 1970). The psychological researches of Wiseman and Wrigley (1953) and Vernon (1956) showed convincingly that conventional intelligence tests did not measure only innate cognitive abilities. Their criticisms were noted also by some leading Conservative politicians when the 1958 White Paper, "Better Opportunities in Secondary Education" was being drafted, (Personal Papers). In the spring of 1957 a Tory controlled Local Authority, Leicestershire, introduced the first two tier scheme with the express purpose of removing selection at eleven plus,

and by 1960 this scheme which became known as the Leicestershire Plan was operating in several areas of the county. It has been explained in Chapter 2 that the distinctive feature of this pioneer scheme was that all children transferred from primary to junior high schools at the age of eleven. When pupils reached the age of fourteen, their parents had the option to transfer them to senior high or grammar schools for a variety of courses leading to external examinations. Between 1957 and 1964, the number of comprehensive schools rose from forty-three to over two hundred and fifty, and when Sir Edward Boyle (now Lord Boyle of Handsworth - Sir Edward was created a life peer in 1970) was Minister of State for Education, 1962-64, he was advised that about ninety out of one hundred and sixty-two L.E.A.'s were working on re-organisation plans early in 1964.(2) While Minister of State for Education, Sir Edward commissioned in August 1963 the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) "to consider primary education in all its aspects, and the transition to secondary education." Sir Edward advised his colleagues at the highest level that a majority of public, including Tory, opinion was moving steadily against selection for four very good reasons: (i) the unreliability of the selective process, (ii) the disparity of educational provision made for children in different kinds of school, (iii) the adverse effects created on pupils' attitudes by failure in the eleven plus, and (iv) the growing recognition that a secondary education leading to a good sixth form course was the indispensable passport to the chance of a university place. Whether or not it was the technical evidence or the astute political observation that the proportion of Tory voters in the electorate was more than double the proportion of grammar school places

(2) I am much indebted to Lord Boyle for an extended interview and for making available certain papers germane to the issues described above.

available which persuaded the Cabinet to grant him the 1964 Education Bill, must remain a matter of speculation for some years. Certainly Sir Edward stressed to his colleagues that the issue was not about the abstract merits of grammar and comprehensive schools, but about the separation of children by ability at the age of eleven into different institutions and that this practice had little to commend it, (Personal Papers).

The enactment of the 1964 Education Bill, which was sponsored by Sir Edward Boyle, was made possible by the decision of the then Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, not to call a general election in late 1963. The passage of the Bill was by and large politically non-contentious. The climate, certainly on the issue of selection at eleven, was favourable to change. New schemes were under consideration, if not in progress, in several Local Authorities, many of which were Conservative controlled. Reference has already been made to the Leicestershire Plan, the architect of which was the Authority's Director of Education, Stewart C. Mason. One aspect of this scheme which in its early days incurred considerable criticism was that pupils who stayed on in the junior high school for their final year were consigned to a kind of educational cul-de-sac where they generated an anti-school climate. In Lord Boyle's view, this acknowledged deficiency resulted in Stewart Mason's scheme not receiving the credit which it deserved. (Personal Papers).

All the available evidence, however, suggests that it was Sir Alec Clegg, now a member of the Plowden Committee, who was responsible for generating the educational momentum for more extensive change; the Leicestershire scheme delayed selection, it did not facilitate genuine comprehensive schooling. Sir Alec had long opposed selection at eleven; indeed he rejected any scheme which channelled pupils into different types of school before the compulsory school leaving age. For this reason he refused to contemplate adopting the pioneer Leicestershire scheme in the

West Riding, even though the extant school buildings made this an easy option. (Personal Papers). By the late nineteen fifties, Sir Alec had formulated three major objectives for the West Riding: (i) the abolition of selective schooling, (ii) the establishment of moderately sized secondary schools, and (iii) an alternative to transfer at eleven plus.

With these objectives in mind Sir Alec visited the U.S.A. in 1960. On his return he concluded that a modified version of the middle school, which in the U.S.A. caters for the ten to fourteen years age group, would achieve these three objectives simultaneously. In 1961 he began detailed discussions with close colleagues in the Authority, the Chief Education Officer for the London Borough of Merton and local H.M.I's. Sir Edward Boyle was invited to visit schools in the Don Valley and informally Sir Alec outlined his proposals. It was here that in Sir Alec's words, "he (Sir Edward Boyle) was converted to the middle school".

Sections 8 and 114 of the 1944 Education Act determined that the transfer of pupils from primary to secondary schools must occur between the ages of ten years six months and twelve years. Although this legal requirement stood firmly in the way of Sir Alec's proposals for establishing middle schools within certain areas of the West Riding, detailed planning continued. It was when this problem was discussed at a private meeting between Sir Alec and Sir Edward that the Minister reassured the Chief Education Officer that, through legislation, he "would make an honest woman of the West Riding". (Personal Papers; Blyth and Derricott op. cit. p.16). These discussions took place before the Lord President of the Council and Secretary of State for Education, Quinton Hogg, introduced the Bill for its second reading on 1st July, 1964, (Hansard, op. cit., pp.1413-98). In the Government's view, "the principal purpose of the Bill was to enable L.E.A.'s in England and Wales, and the Voluntary Bodies, to experiment with new schools, in varying the age of transfer

subject to the approval of the Secretary of State". During the second reading the Secretary of State alluded to the developments in the West Riding, but he insisted that "we do not now contemplate - nor I think we ought to contemplate it in advance of Lady Plowden's report - any general change in the age of transfer", (Hansard, op. cit., pp. 1415). Welcoming the Bill for the Labour Opposition, Fred Willey, M.P., concisely appraised the measure: "...the House should clearly recognise that we are doing two things. We are legitimating action which some Local Authorities have taken in defiance of the Ministry and in contravention of the 1944 Act, and we are removing an obstacle in the way of ... (re-organising) ... State secondary schools on comprehensive lines." (Hansard op. cit., p. 1418). The present writer understands that Sir Edward Boyle and Fred Willey had previously discussed in private the contents of the Bill at some length.

In the parliamentary exchanges Fred Willey made considerable play on the fact that the wording of the Bill made no reference to "experiments", and taunted the Government with the charge that the Bill was introduced in panic because of the action which the West Riding was ready to take regardless of anything the Secretary of State might do. His suggestion that the Secretary of State should approach Lady Plowden for an interim report on the age of transfer, (Hansard, op. cit., p.1422) was of greater significance. The importance of this suggestion became clear when the Labour Party formed a government in October 1964, and Antony Crosland became Secretary of State for Education, (see p.65 of this chapter). It is not surprising that it was a former teacher, Dr. Horace King, who identified clearly for the House the full significance of the developments in the West Riding: "the West Riding is asking not merely whether it is right to select at eleven plus, but whether it is right to transfer children from primary to secondary education at eleven. This is much more serious ... than the question of whether we should select at eleven plus". (Hansard, op. cit., p.1421). Dr. King emphasised the needs of pupils and teachers:

"merely to transfer from primary to secondary because the buildings suit or because it would be cheaper to have teachers this way rather than the other is the kind of reason which I hope will not enter into the mind of any Local Authority. If Clause 1 (of the Bill which dealt with the age of transfer) comes into operation I hope that it will be for educational reasons and not administrative convenience". (Hansard, op. cit., p.1433). But of the various questions put to the Secretary of State, one from Mr. Merlyn Rees carried most import: simply he wished to know whether a "new school" came into being when the building contained children of a different age range. When Quintin Hogg explained that this was so by virtue of Section 13 of the 1944 Act (this section specifies the procedure for the closure of schools), the way was open for re-organisation schemes on a much wider front than the Commons were initially led to believe. No new arguments were introduced at the third reading, which lasted just one hour, (Hansard, Vol. 699 pp. 909-930). The Bill became law the following month, August 1964. Dr. Horace King, later to become Speaker of the House of Commons, was M.P. for the Itchen Division of Southampton, and Merlyn Rees was the Member for Leeds South. The L.E.A.'s for both these constituencies were among the first to submit re-organisation plans involving middle schools, and both subsequently established them in relatively large numbers.

The election of the Labour Government in October, 1964, accelerated the moves towards the re-organisation of secondary education along comprehensive lines, but the central issues which are described above remained the same. That the Department of Education and Science with a new Secretary of State did not have a consistent view of the nature of middle schools is illustrated clearly by contrasting two statements made by Antony Crosland. In Circular 10/65 (HMSO, 1965), which set out the new Government's thinking on the re-organisation of secondary education,

Crosland expressed the same view enunciated at the time of the 1964 Bill that "notwithstanding the prima facie attractiveness of middle schools" he did not intend to "give his statutory approval to more than a very small number of such schemes in the near future", (Circular 10/65, para. 22). Yet as early as April in the following year 1966, he told the House of Commons that "our (the Department's, presumably) thinking has shifted in the light of experience since the day when we used the language in the Circular. We would now be more willing than we were to consider possible nine to thirteen schemes". (Hansard, Vol. 727, p. 494). The grounds for the phrase "the light of experience" were not made public, yet the statement was made some fifteen months before "Children and their Primary Schools" was published and which recommended middle schools covering the age range eight to twelve years. From discussions with people who were very much involved with the Plowden Committee, it would seem that there were three considerations which brought about this changed position. First, the experience of the D.E.S. officers and of the Inspectorate in putting a large number of L.E.A.'s plans for comprehensive re-organisation under the microscope in a very short space of time. Although this "experience" was of plans, not of living schools, it was nevertheless authentic. Secondly, the Inspectorate was mounting its own feasibility studies on time-tabling, staff cover, the loading of premises, etc., and was in continual contact with Chief Education Officers, heads, architects and the Plowden Committee. Politically there was strong pressure on Crosland from within his own party to accelerate re-organisation. Those close to Crosland on this matter stressed that he would not yield to anyone's pressure unless a case convinced him; and he was convinced by the arguments of the Inspectorate on middle schools.

The accumulated psychological and sociological evidence of the sixties had demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt the shortcomings of the eleven plus examination, and so it was not surprising to find that an appraisal

of "ages and stages" was an important and immediate question for the Plowden Committee. Because the arguments advanced by Plowden are sufficiently well known, it is sufficient here to state that they are founded mainly on the "developmental arguments" derived from the nature of children's growth, supplemented with practical observations on equipment, accommodation and curriculum, (Children and their Primary Schools, paras. 377-378). It would seem also that other factors must have been taken into consideration. In Scotland, twelve plus has been the traditional age of transfer and in a footnote (Ibid., p.146) Plowden does refer to the Scottish Council for Research in Education Enquiry (1966) into the question of the age of transfer. Surprisingly Plowden makes no comment on the fact that in the private sector in England, where presumably the developmental arguments are equally appropriate, the upper age of transfer for many boys has long been thirteen plus. Once more it is a matter of conjecture as to what effect the publication of Circular 13/66 (H.M.S.O. 1966), might have had on the Plowden Committee. This Circular besides announcing the government's plans for raising the school leaving age also permitted Local Education Authorities to change the age of transfer from eleven if "justified by reference to some clear practical advantage in the context of re-organisation on comprehensive lines or raising the school leaving age or both, (13/66, para. 4).

Although the Plowden Committee do pose, in paragraph 381, the critical question of whether transfer at twelve or thirteen plus would be more likely to produce the kind of middle schools they wished to see, their subsequent discussion is purely speculative. This discussion, unlike their appraisal of "ages and stages", carries no evidence which can be subject to public scrutiny. Thus when Local Authorities use Plowden to justify nearly all types of middle school, their arguments should not be accepted uncritically. The detailed case study of the re-organisation

of education in Chester presented in Chapter 6 illustrates this point convincingly. While the age of transfer is a very important aspect of the middle school debate, it is only one aspect, and the case for middle schools is not well proven on this evidence alone.

Whatever the characteristics of Plowden's advice on middle schools, one could be forgiven for thinking that the report itself, with recommendations for transfer at eight and twelve, would have been a watershed in the pattern of Local Authority re-organisation submissions. Before August, 1967, eighteen Authorities were considering re-organisation schemes involving nine to thirteen schools, while eleven were undecided between eight to twelve or nine to thirteen. In January, 1968, five Authorities proposed eight to twelve middle schools, eighteen nine to thirteen, two ten to thirteen, and one included in its submission, proposals for eight to twelve, nine to twelve and ten to thirteen schools, (Medlin, 1974, p. 11). At this time the initial preference was clearly for schemes involving nine to thirteen schools, which considering Plowden's recommendation, is a little surprising and prompts a closer look at the significant sentence in the report "on nearly every count it seems to us that the balance of advantage is just with the twelve year old transfer", (Children and their Primary Schools, para. 385).

Discussions with several people closely involved with the preparation of the Plowden Report suggest that there was a wide division of opinion concerning the upper age of transfer. In their written submission to the "ages and Stages" working party of the Central Advisory Council, chaired by Harold Tunn, formerly Chief Education Officer for Sheffield, which was one of the first Authorities to adopt eight to twelve middle schools in substantial numbers, Her Majesty's Inspectorate recommended thirteen plus as the upper age of transfer. For some time several inspectors had been concerned that able children were not being sufficiently stretched intellectually in the traditional junior school, especially in view of

current curricular developments. Other advice, particularly from permanent officials within the Department favoured twelve plus, and this view seems to have been shared by a number of influential Local Authority advisers. Whether this view in favour of twelve plus was based on economic or educational arguments must remain problematic. At least in public the Plowden recommendations could be defended on Professor Tanner's developmental evidence, but equally this same evidence could be used to support the nine to thirteen middle school. Tanner simply documents the variation in children's developmental rates between the ages of ten and thirteen; Plowden chooses to illustrate this variation with reference to the twelve year old. (1967, para. 20).

Reference has already been made to the then Secretary of State's changing perceptions of the status of middle schools while the Plowden Committee was deliberating, and to the development of middle schools within the context of the development of comprehensive secondary education generally. Both of these considerations have a clear political and economic component which it would be unwise to overlook. Although, technically, the Central Advisory Council was an independent body with a specific remit, some months before Circular 10/65 was issued the Plowden Committee were apparently asked to submit an interim report on the age of transfer of which note could be taken when drafting the extended circular. Support for this anecdotal evidence is provided by Fred Willey's suggestion which was made during the second reading of the 1964 Education Bill. It would appear that in the event Lady Plowden and her Committee declined the invitation. Local Education Authorities were also put in a strait-jacket by Circular 10/65 because there were to be no additional funds or an extended building programme to facilitate comprehensive re-organisation. This probably accounts for the rise since 1970 of the number of middle schools in the comprehensive category. (Statistics of Education, 1974, Vol. 1., p.8).

Of course it is not a new insight that buildings and costs are critical determinants in school systems. Nearly forty years ago Sir Fred Clarke in his perceptive study "Education and Social Change" (1940) stressed that "schools are much less educational than they ought to be, but rather social, administrative and historical." Financial considerations are always to the fore in local decision making and it must be noted that before the re-organisation of local government in 1974 the financial resources of smaller Authorities made cheaper propositions attractive. Indeed part of Sir Alec Clegg's argument was that new middle schools were cheaper than new secondary schools and that such new middle schools would relieve the pressure on the schools above and below them, (Education, Vol. 126, p.803). It would seem that re-organisation to a three tier system including eight to twelve middle schools was the cheapest way of meeting the requirement to provide for the raising of the school leaving age and is still the cheapest way of going comprehensive. Eight to twelve middle schools require less capital outlay for the provision of specialised teaching facilities and are costed at a higher pupil teacher ratio than the equivalent secondary provision. Before 1972 the net cost per pupil place was as follows :

Primary School.....£257

Middle School.....£368

Secondary School.....£492

Post 1972 the respective costs per pupil place were £296, £423 and £566, (HMSO, 1972). Currently the Department of Education and Science does not provide specific unit costs because each Local Authority is free to submit for approval schemes within the total limit of the government grant. If the 1972 figure is taken as an example, however, the respective costs of different types of school accommodation for pupils in the middle years of schooling can be estimated.

Two form entry schools.

	Cost Places	M.T.A.m^2	Gross Cost
Primary 7-11	320	627	£106,560 (320 pupils)
Middle 8-12	275	779	£103,866 (320 pupils)
Middle 9-13	315	906	£149,901 (320 pupils)
Secondary 11-16	330	1287	£210,128 (300 pupils)

Three form entry schools.

Primary	7-11	440	879	£146,520 (480 pupils)
Middle	8-12	380	1136	£180,833 (480 pupils)
Middle	9-13	445	1337	£211,764 (480 pupils)
Secondary	11-16	485	1931	£308,824 (450 pupils)

These figures suggest that at best educational arguments play only a small part in deciding whether to adopt middle schools or even what type of middle school. The descriptions of educational re-organisation in Wallasey and Chester, in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively, examine this general assertion in specific detail. Computed simply in terms of "roofs over heads" these general figures illustrate the attractiveness of middle school propositions to Local Education Authorities who, either by choice or direction, come to comprehensive re-organisation. The inference from the above figures that the twelve and thirteen year old in a middle school can manage with 25% less space than his contemporaries in a secondary school building does not support the case for innovation in curriculum and pedagogy which is very much part of the educational rhetoric of middle schools.

Although it appears that the Plowden Committee did not appraise evidence of this kind during their deliberations (according to Lady Plowden, "all the arithmetic was done afterwards"), at the same time the Department of Education and Science architects were preparing Building Bulletin No. 35, from which it can now be reasonably inferred that the Department favoured the conversion of existing primary buildings to middle schools rather than the modification of existing secondary plant. This interpretation is supported by the correspondence between the Department and Wallasey L.E.A. (Chapter 5 of this study refers). Whether or not there

was informal advice from the architects to members of the "ages and stages" working party remains problematic, but one H.M.I. closely involved with staffing the Plowden Committee has stated that the publication of Building Bulletin No.35 took several members by surprise.

To summarise the information elicited from a careful reading of the Plowden Report and discussions with some of its draughtsmen, it would appear that they viewed the middle school as an appropriate educational solution to the contemporary problems of continuity of education and the age of transfer. Certainly governmental pronouncements seem to have encouraged those responsible for implementing D.E.S. policy to focus upon the middle school as an administrative expedient. Both influences had their effect upon an emerging middle school movement.

Earlier in this chapter it was noted that in 1969 there were just 15 middle schools in existence. As at January 1979, the latest date for which figures are available, there were 1,764. At the beginning of the nineteen seventies, the middle school deemed secondary was favoured by those Authorities adopting middle schools in their re-organisation plans. From Fig.4:1, and Table 4:1. it can be seen that in 1970 75% of all middle schools were deemed secondary, but since 1974 this category of schools has accounted for no more than 35% of middle school provision. Again in 1970, approximately 5% of all pupils in comprehensive schools were in middle schools of one kind or another. This rose to a maximum of 14% between 1974 and 1976, but since then this statistic has fallen to just over 10%. Certainly Gannon and Whalley's (1975) confident prediction that a quarter of all eleven year olds will be in some form of middle school by 1980 has not been realised. At the beginning of the decade, nearly 80% of pupils in second tier schools were in middle schools deemed secondary. This proportion fell gradually during the first half of the nineteen seventies, but from 1974 onwards the number of

FIG. 4:1

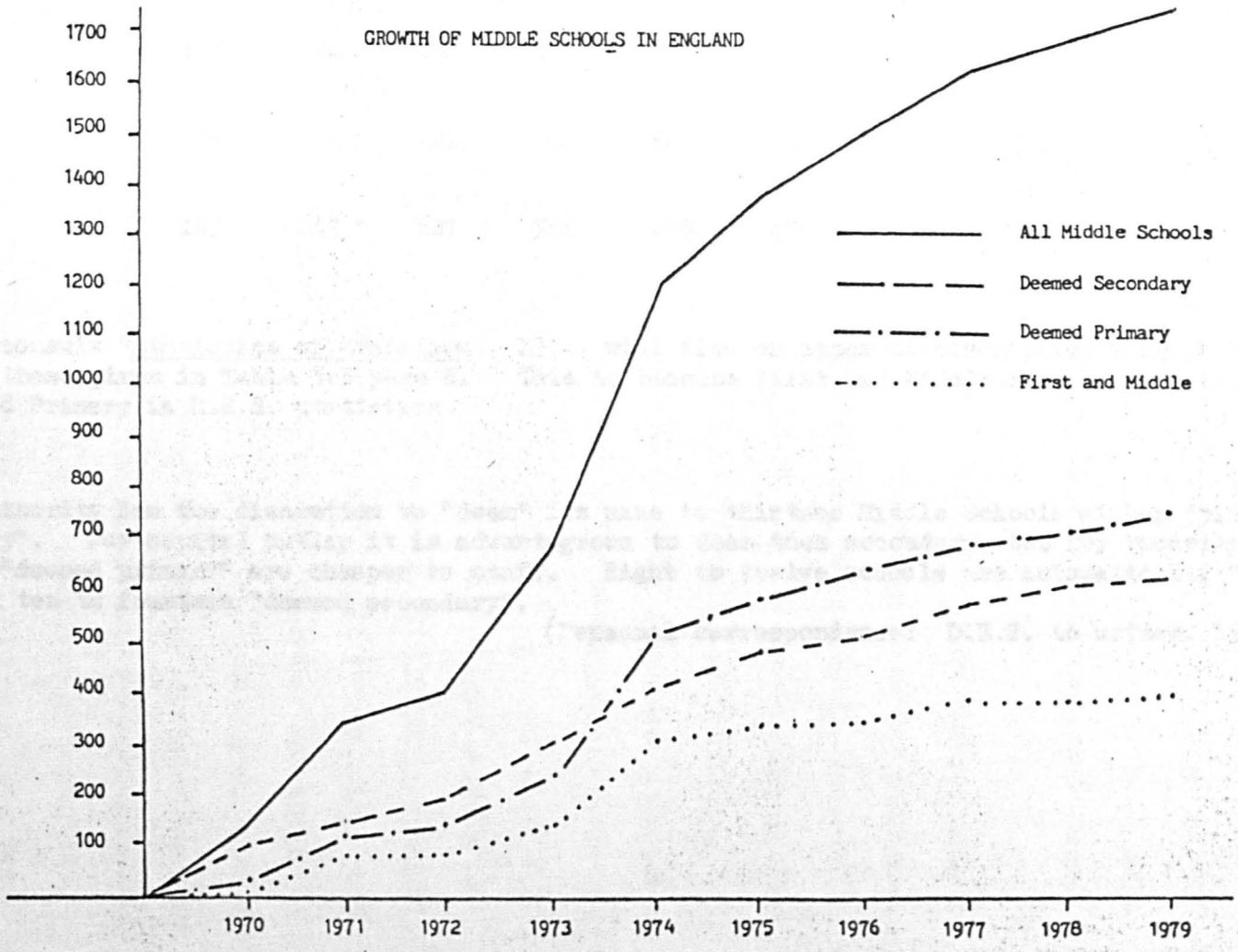

GROWTH OF MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND
1700
1600
1500
1400
1300
1200
1100
1000
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
1970
1971
1972
1973
1974
1975
1976
1977
1978
1979
All Middle Schools
Deemed Secondary
Deemed Primary
First and Middle

TABLE 4:1 NUMBER OF MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND.

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974 +	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Total number of Middle Schools	126	348	408	686	1,212	1,385	1,501	1,629	1,690	1,764
Number "Deemed Primary" *	23	201	221	385	509	919	992	1,068	1,089	1,144
Number "Deemed Secondary"	103	147	187	301	403	475	509	561	601	620

+ Readers who consult "Statistics of Education", 1974, will find an apparent discrepancy between these figures and those given in Table 3:3 page 8. This is because First and Middle Schools are classified as Maintained Primary in D.E.S. statistics.

* The Local Authority has the discretion to "deem" its nine to thirteen Middle Schools either "primary" or "secondary". For capital outlay it is advantageous to deem them secondary, but for recurrent expenditure "deemed primary" are cheaper to staff. Eight to twelve schools are automatically "deemed primary" and ten to fourteen "deemed secondary".

(Personal correspondence: D.E.S. to writer, 19.2.74.)

pupils in middle schools deemed primary and secondary has remained nearly equal, (Statistics of Education, 1977, Vol. 1, p.6). Most deemed primary middle schools are for pupils aged eight to twelve, but this category also includes some First and Middle schools for the five to twelve age range. Between 1977 and 1979 First and Middle schools only increased by 7, from 383 to 390, whereas eight to twelve middle schools have risen from 669 to 739.

This significant shift in policy nationwide, particularly between 1973 and 1975, seems surprising. No research evidence was published at the time which confirmed the conclusions reached by the Central Advisory Council and refuted the case made by the Inspectorate in 1965. It would seem that there is no reason to reject the view that the educational arguments relating to middle schools provide an appropriate public rhetoric to mask the main criterion for re-organisation, namely economic expediency.

Before this change in the national pattern of middle schools is examined, it is illuminating to chart the actual distribution of middle schools in England. According to Blyth and Derricott (op. cit., p.43), the distribution of middle schools follows no particular political, regional or social pattern, but they do note the present writer's earlier observations (1977) concerning the relative growth of deemed primary and deemed secondary middle schools, to which fuller reference is made later in this chapter. Similarly Burrows, (1978, p.19), describes middle school provision "as a patchwork of different structures serving local needs at the expense of a co-ordinated system". When evaluating judgements of this kind, perhaps it is timely here to anticipate a point made more fully in Chapter 7 that there is no correct and unique distribution of data which exists independently of its means of production; the categories which researchers generate influence greatly the form of

their conclusions. For example, when the D.E.S. document the growth of middle schools in terms of the nine regional planning areas (Statistics of Education 1974, Vol. 1, p. 6) there does appear to be no regional variation.

When the same data are presented cartographically, see Figs. 4:2, 4:3, 4:4, 4:5 and 4:6, the spatial distribution of middle schools can be seen. Fig. 4:2 shows clearly the pioneer developments in the West Riding of Yorkshire to which reference has been made earlier in this chapter. Similarly in the South East of England the early schemes in Merton, Surrey and East Sussex can be identified. By 1972 the extension of existing schemes in the West Riding is apparent, as well as the adoption of 8-12 middle schools in Birkenhead, which is adjacent to Wallasey where some of the first middle schools were established. Wallasey and Birkenhead became part of the Metropolitan Borough of Wirral upon local government re-organisation. The more significant developments appear to be in the South East where the early preference for the nine to thirteen pattern stands out. Particularly notable are the developments along the south coast. Also new schemes can be seen in Stoke-on-Trent and the Droitwich area of Worcestershire. The map for 1974 (Fig. 4:4) illustrates the expansion of several schemes, together with the rapid growth of the eight to twelve middle school. After 1974 the introduction of middle schools is limited to three areas; only the London Borough of Ealing established substantial numbers of middle schools, which were all either first and middle or eight to twelve schools, when it re-organised education in 1975. Walsall introduced just two middle schools in this same year, while the new Nottinghamshire L.E.A. opened three middle schools in Mansfield, also in 1975. Since then no new middle schools schemes have been started in either Metropolitan Districts or the Non-Metropolitan Counties: the increase in numbers of middle schools comes from the extension of schemes

FIG. 4:2 DISTRIBUTION OF MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND, 1970

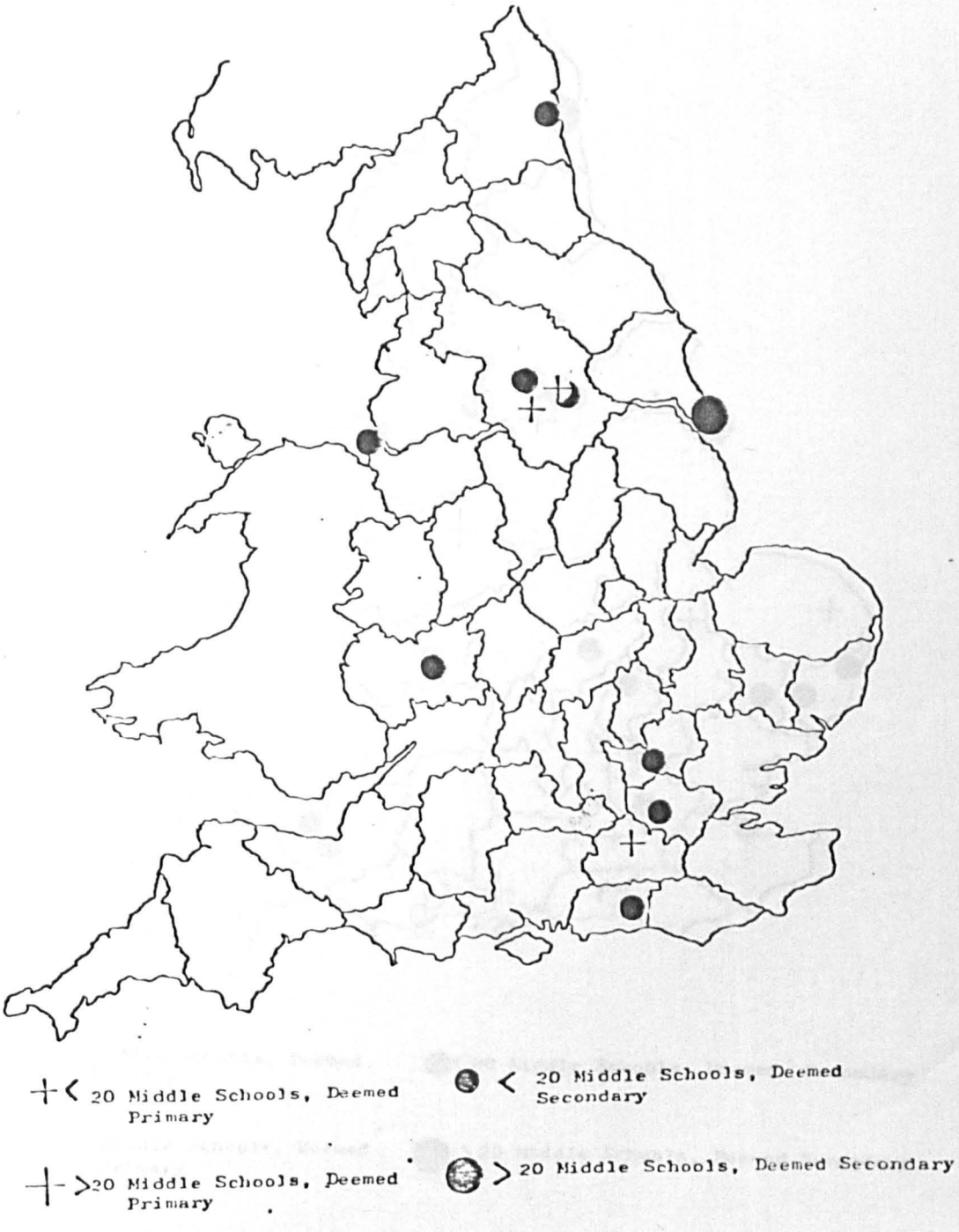


FIG. 4:3 DISTRIBUTION OF MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND, 1972

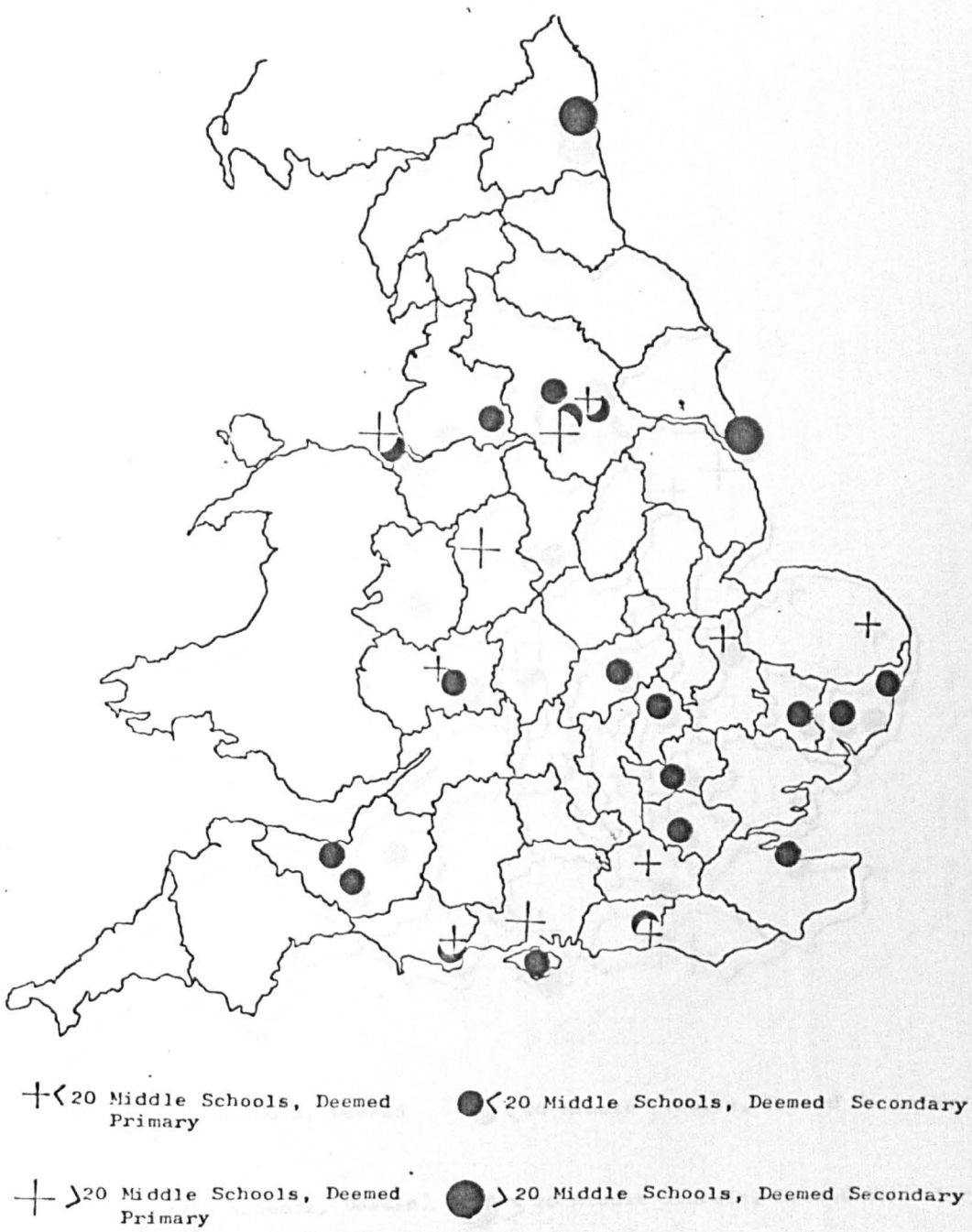


FIG. 4:4 DISTRIBUTION OF MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND, 1974

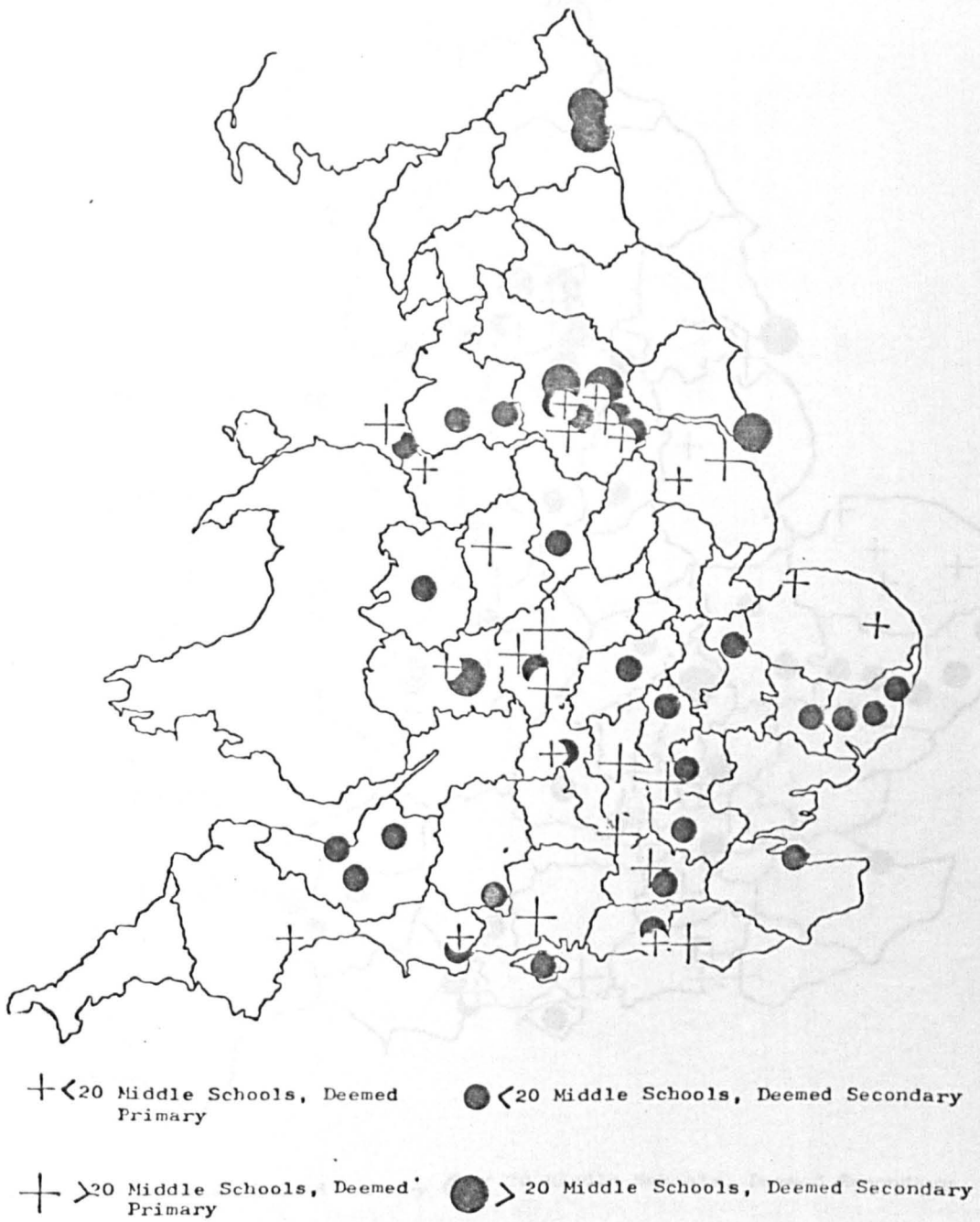


FIG. 4:5 DISTRIBUTION OF MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND, 1976

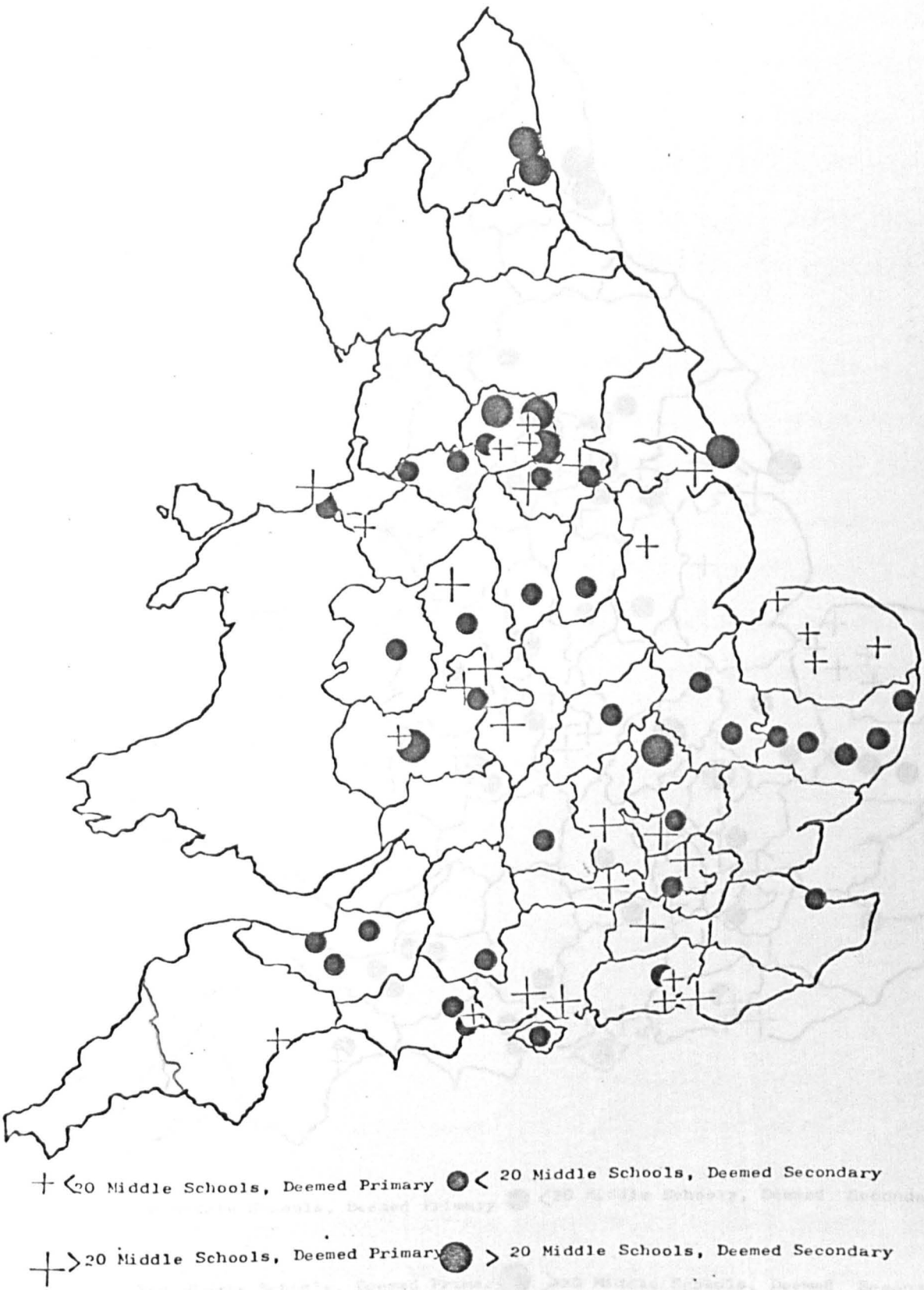
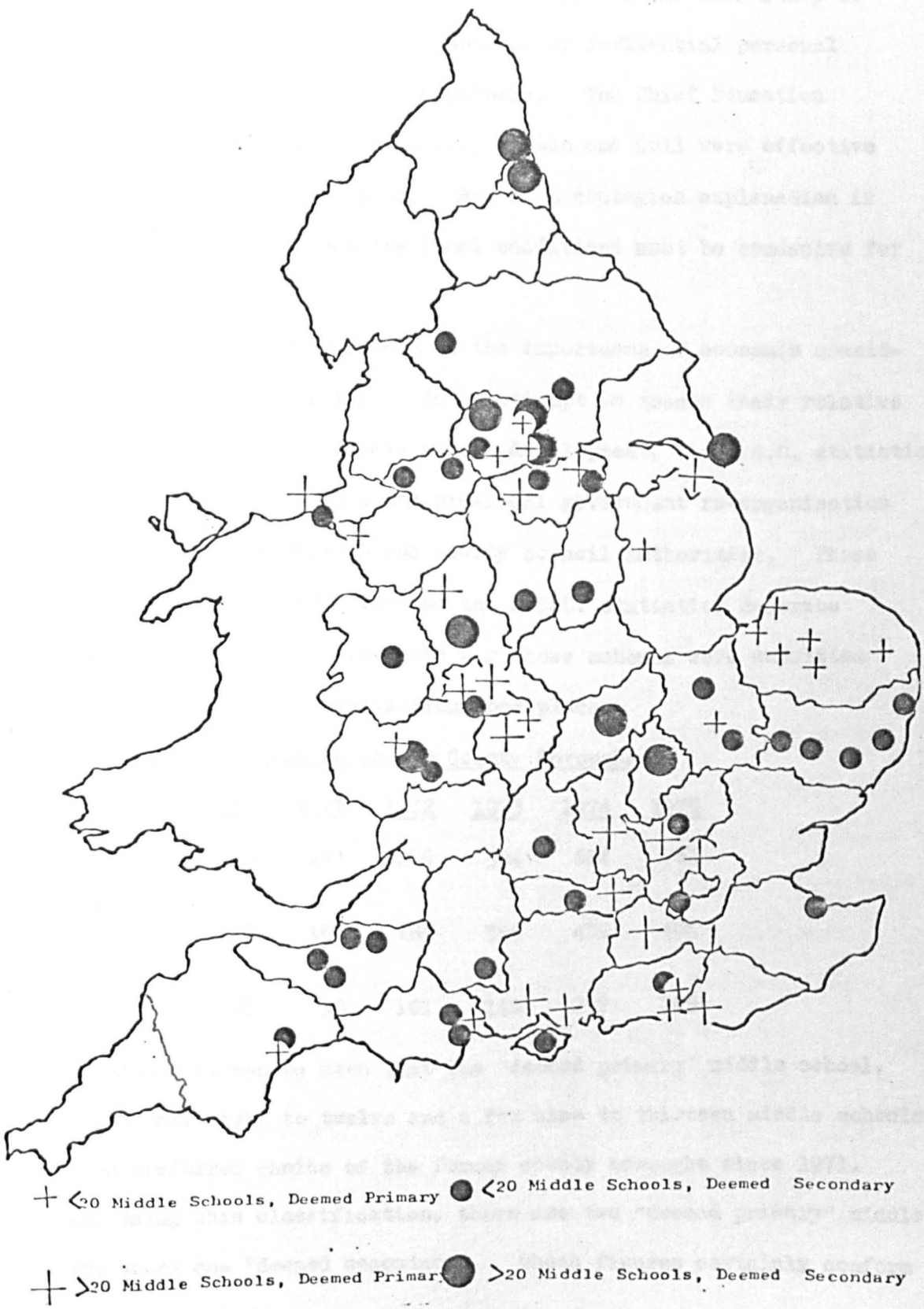


FIG. 4:6 DISTRIBUTION OF MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND, 1979



already in existence.

The cartographic presentation of this data raises the question as to whether the spread of middle schools can be explained in terms of a contagion model, similar to the spread of foot and mouth disease, for example. The discussion earlier in this chapter and the case study of Wallasey in Chapter 5 point to the importance of influential personal networks in the development of middle schools. The Chief Education Officers in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Merton and Hull were effective diffusers of the middle school idea. But if a contagion explanation is correct, at least in part, then the local conditions must be conducive for the "infection" to spread.

Reference has already been made to the importance of economic considerations in educational planning. In an attempt to assess their relative importance upon the kinds of middle school development, the D.E.S. statistics have first been categorised into the pre-local government re-organisation classification of county borough and county council authorities. These categories are used until 1975 because the D.E.S. statistics describe schools in operation and the proposals for these schemes were submitted before local government re-organisation took place.

Table 4:2. Middle Schools in former County Boroughs.

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Number of Middle Schools	93	271	286	504	684	761
Number "Deemed Primary"	18	181	185	356	432	496
Number "Deemed Secondary"	75	90	101	148	252	265

From Tab.4:2 it can be seen that the "deemed primary" middle school, which includes all eight to twelve and a few nine to thirteen middle schools has been the preferred choice of the former county boroughs since 1971. On average, using this classification, there are two "deemed primary" middle schools for every one "deemed secondary". These figures certainly conform

to the generalisation made earlier about eight to twelve schemes being cheaper and more attractive to the smaller Authorities.

The marked and consistent trend towards middle schools being "deemed primary" in all areas is illustrated very clearly in Table 4:3 and in Fig. 4.7.

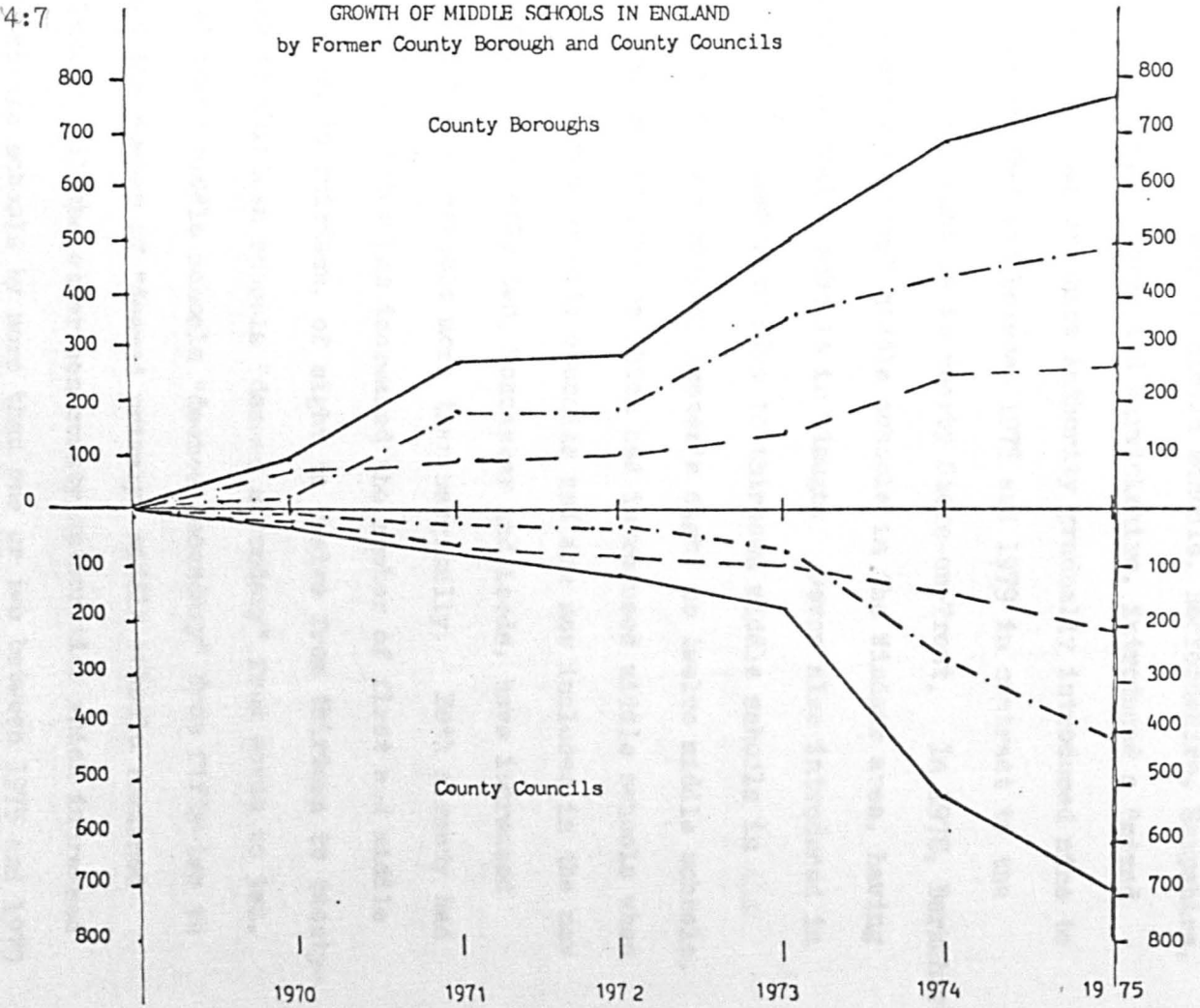
Table 4:3. Middle Schools in former County Councils.

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Number of Middle Schools	33	77	122	182	528	624
Number "Deemed Primary	5	20	36	80	377	414
Number "Deemed Secondary"	28	57	86	102	151	210

The inferences drawn from this table provide further supportive evidence for the economic hypothesis in middle school development. In 1970 85% of all middle schools in former county council Authorities were "deemed secondary" and this declined steadily until 1974 when only 29% were so designated. These figures take on added significance when they are located in the context of greater political pressure towards compulsory comprehensive education and the increasing financial stringency on all re-organisation schemes. This is not to say, of course, that existing nine to thirteen schools have actually been converted into eight to twelve middle schools. More new building had taken place in the counties than in the county boroughs as part of the provision of "roofs over heads" because population has been moving out from the main centres of population, and this expansion helps to account for the changing proportions. This merely reinforces the outcome that, where any new schools can be built at all, the middle schools among them are increasingly likely to be eight to twelve.

Between the years 1976 and 1979 there is little variation in the national pattern of middle school provision. The total number of middle schools increased by 383 from 1,381 to 1,764. Much of this expansion

Fig. 4:7


GROWTH OF MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND
by Former County Borough and County Councils
County Boroughs
County Councils
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
1970
1971
1972
1973
1974
1975
KEY:
All Middle Schools
Deemed Secondary
Deemed Primary
First and Middle

occurred in Hampshire and Surrey. In Hampshire, the proposals for the Portsmouth area had been approved before 1970, but were only implemented in stages from 1976 onwards. It is worth noting too that initially Surrey contemplated nine to thirteen and eight to twelve schemes, but in the event instituted eight to twelve middle schools throughout the county, (H.M.S.O., 1970, Appendix 1). During this four year period no Local Education Authority significantly altered the structure or emphasis of its three tier provision. Not one of the six County Authorities which markedly increased the number of middle schools, Bedfordshire, Hampshire, Norfolk, Northumberland, Surrey and Warwickshire, introduced a "mixed economy". The new Staffordshire Authority gradually introduced nine to thirteen schools in Stafford between 1975 and 1979 in contrast to the eight to twelve middle schools in nearby Stoke-on-Trent. In 1978, Berkshire opened six "deemed secondary" middle schools in the Windsor area, having begun with eight to twelve schools in Slough. Devon also introduced in the same year a small number of nine to thirteen middle schools in Tiverton and Bampton to accompany Exeter's eight to twelve middle schools.

Of the eighteen Authorities which had introduced middle schools when they were county borough or city councils and are now included in the new metropolitan districts, only two, Doncaster and Leeds, have increased their numbers of middle schools more than marginally. Both already had mixed systems. Doncaster has increased the number of first and middle schools from seven to thirteen, of eight to twelve from thirteen to twenty-four, and nine to thirteen schools "deemed secondary" from seven to ten. Leeds extended their middle schools "deemed secondary" from fifty-two to sixty-two, but the number of "deemed primary" middle schools remained constant. Indeed, all the other non-county Authorities which increased the number of middle schools by more than one or two between 1975 and 1979 were in the former West Riding of Yorkshire.

Since 1977 the D.E.S. has made available its lists of middle schools by Metropolitan Districts and Non-Metropolitan Counties. When the number of deemed primary and deemed secondary middle schools are collated from these lists, the data can be presented in tabular form as in Tabs. 4:4 and 4:5 below.

Table 4:4 Middle Schools in Metropolitan Districts (inc. Greater London).

	1977	1978	1979
Number of Middle Schools "Deemed Primary"	310	313	321
Number of Middle Schools "Deemed Secondary"	229	234	247

Table 4:5 Middle Schools in Non-Metropolitan Counties.

	1977	1978	1979
Number of Middle Schools "Deemed Primary"	758	776	823
Number of Middle Schools "Deemed Secondary"	332	367	373

From these tables it can be seen that the ratio of deemed primary to deemed secondary hardly varies in these two local government categories between 1977 and 1979. Thus it should be clear the significant changes in middle school planning occurred before local government re-organisation. Although the D.E.S. declines to comment on the number and form of re-organisation schemes submitted by L.E.A.'s, it can reasonably be inferred that very few, if any, new middle school proposals have been put forward since 1975.

These figures concerning the development of middle schools certainly support Burrows' "patchwork" description. Perusal of D.E.S. publications (1970), Schools Council Working Papers 22 and 42, and Gannon and Whalley's Middle Schools (1975), show enthusiasts for every possible variant of middle schools citing child development and educational theory to sustain their case. Perhaps the only clear fact to emerge is a confirmation of the opening paragraph to this chapter; viz. that middle school is a

generic term which embraces schools catering for a diversity of age ranges, organisations and curricula. To an astringent critic like Reese Edwards (1972) it is regrettable that middle schools should come into being in the middle of 1970's at approximately two hundred per year without any empirical evidence to justify their advocates' claims. Fig. 4.1 shows that since 1976 this relatively rapid growth has subsided considerably. Both trends have occurred without firm educational evidence with an empirical basis. Certainly it seems that the relationship between theory and the mainstream middle school is tenuous, and of the minority variants, such as the ten to fourtween middle school, not even plausible. The "light of experience" to which Crosland referred seems to have been substantially filtered and polarised by educationists, administrators and politicians whatever its "authentic" nature.

The absence of empirical data has provided much of the stimulus for this study. From the foregoing discussion on the emergence of middle schools, the economic arguments appear convincing, but it must be acknowledged that from the papers available this cannot be proved. That the Cathedral cities of Chester, Exeter, Lincoln and Norwich have adopted the eight to twelve middle school might be more than a chance event, although York, which is adjacent to the West Riding, does not conform to this pattern. The quantity of voluntary provision in extant school accommodation would appear to be a vital consideration. The re-organisation of school provision has always been financially demanding for voluntary bodies and the insistence on comprehensive secondary schooling has intensified the problem for them. In an attempt to assess whether the speculations raised in this chapter have any real basis, the actual re-organisation negotiations within two Authorities, Wallasey and Chester, are explored in the next two chapters. Then in Chapter 8 a limited experiment to establish whether the age range of middle schools does

influence pupils' average attainment is reported. On the basis of these results, teachers and pupils' perceptions of life in two middle schools are examined. For too long the middle school and middle years debate has been a very good example of where "ideas fly cheaply and evidence is hard to come by."

THE RE-ORGANISATION OF EDUCATION IN THE COUNTY BOROUGH OF WALLASEY.

The re-organisation of educational provision along comprehensive lines in Wallasey in September 1968 was a significant event in several respects. Although Wallasey was a relatively small borough with no tradition of educational innovation, it was one of the first L.E.A.'s to introduce a three tier comprehensive scheme. This scheme was born in the early days of comprehensive re-organisation in a Conservative controlled local authority. Even more significantly, it was conceived early in 1962 when it was still illegal to transfer pupils from primary to secondary schools outside the specified age range of ten years six months and twelve years (Sec.8, Education Act, 1944). It is hardly surprising that this gestation period of nearly seven years exemplifies many of the important formal and informal aspects of the decision making process at various administrative levels. Sectional interest groups form, modify and shift their positions. Information is classified and differentially distributed to official and unofficial networks. This process aptly demonstrates the popular thesis that "knowledge is power".

The theoretical considerations developed in Chapter 3 and a familiarity with the events of re-organisation pose three key questions to be examined in this section. First, is there any socially significant reason why Wallasey should be a pioneer Authority in the three tier system of comprehensive schooling, and in the development of middle schools particularly? Secondly, is it possible to identify clearly defined "interest groups" who favour and oppose particular forms of institutional adaptation, as well as "resource holders" within the administrative networks ? Thirdly, in the light of the answers to these questions, does the exchange model clarify our understanding of what happened and why ?

Following the 1944 Education Act, Wallasey conformed to the usual pattern of adopting a system of selective secondary schooling, and by 1960 the Local Authority controlled six grammar, ten secondary modern, one nursery and two special schools. The Authority also possessed a Technical College and a School of Art. Wallasey Grammar and High Schools were single sex schools for boys and girls respectively. Also there were two "Technical Grammar Schools" which were also single sex institutions. Highfield Grammar School was co-educational. Roman Catholic girls selected for grammar school went to St. Mary's High School, while boys similarly selected had the opportunity to attend voluntary aided schools outside the borough.

The allocation of pupils to these selective schools was by the customary procedure of standardised tests, with interviews for the marginally placed pupils. This procedure was administered by a Classification Board, with boys and girls being assessed independently by separate panels of the Board. Pupils who "failed" the selective procedure went to one of the ten secondary modern schools on a "zoned" basis. Eight of these secondary modern schools were single sex and two were co-educational. Three of the ten were voluntary aided schools. Each year there were approximately one thousand five hundred pupils in the eleven plus age cohort, and about five hundred and sixty places were available annually (Humphrey, 1968, p.6).

Kenneth Rowland, the Director of Education, joined the Authority in 1960, having previously been employed in the West Riding of Yorkshire from 1948 to 1952 where he was Personal Assistant to the then Mr. Alec Clegg. (Mr. Clegg was knighted in 1955 for his services to education). From 1952 until he joined Wallasey L.E.A., Mr. Rowland was Deputy Education Officer in Walsall. The "West Riding Connection" was an

important one in the diffusion of middle school ideas. The Chairman of the Education Committee was Fred Hutty who, outside the Authority, was an influential member of the Burnham Committee and who in 1970 became leader of the Management Panel of that Committee. In 1971 Councillor Hutty too was knighted, also for his services to education. Although this analysis will show that the views of the Director and the Chairman differed significantly on occasions, generally they worked closely together. Both had access to, and did use, wide reaching networks. Each achieved considerable effective extensions to his official role; together they proved a powerful partnership. The Rt. Hon. Ernest Marples was M.P. for Wallasey. Through this connection the Research Office of the Conservative Party was kept abreast of developments. Politically the Minister of Education, Sir Edward Boyle, was also kept informed by this channel. Administratively negotiations were conducted in the first instance by the local H.M.I. Thus the Minister was cognisant of the Wallasey discussions at an early date via these two channels. Elsewhere (p.59) Sir Edward's significant contact with Sir Alec Clegg is noted.

It is in this context of overlapping political and administrative networks that exploratory discussions were initiated with a view to removing selective schooling at the age of eleven in Wallasey. Often it is difficult to distinguish the formal from the informal, the official from the unofficial. Inferences have to be made from letters and memoranda. Allusions to telephone calls are noted, which now are beyond recall and quotation. Probably this is precisely why the initial soundings and enquiries were made in this way.

Humphrey (op. cit., p.10) locates the origin of secondary school re-organisation in Wallasey to a letter from Wallasey and New Brighton Ratepayers' Association in 1961 concerning the evils of the eleven plus.

In parenthesis it is worth noting that most "ratepayers" associations have been composed of dissident right wing Conservatives concerned with pegging or reducing rates. There is evidence (Personal Papers) that this letter, among others, was stimulated by a private circular from Transport House to Labour members on council education committees. Because the eleven plus was also a sensitive issue in Conservative and Liberal circles, it can fairly be seen as an area of little resistance to institutional change. This circular urged members to initiate resolutions on the abolition of the eleven plus at an early date. In Wallasey, it was a Liberal, Councillor David Caldwell, who first raised the abolition of selection issue within the Borough Council, and by Councillor Bernard Dann within the Education Committee.

Education Committee Minute 248 (17.4.61) formally records the first official step by asking the Director to report on the practicability of removing selection for secondary education. At this time Stewart Mason's "Leicestershire Plan" was the most recent and publicised alternative to selection. Before the Education Committee Meeting (17.4.61), Mr. Rowland had already been in touch with Mason. When given the remit of the Education Committee to prepare a feasibility study applying the Leicestershire Plan to Wallasey, Rowland (Wallasey Papers, 15.5.61) wrote to Mason asking for personal guidance. Detailed notes concerning the operation of the plan were returned. Subsequently, in March 1962, the Director and the Chairman from Wallasey went to Leicester to see the scheme in operation and to discuss their tentative ideas with Mason. Firm pressure within and without the Education Committee was maintained by Councillors Dann and Caldwell (Wallasey Papers) and in October 1962 the Director presented his "Organisation of Secondary Education - An application of the Leicestershire Plan to Wallasey" to the Committee (Wallasey Papers).

From the beginning it was inevitable that any re-organisation scheme would be contentious. Whatever form a new pattern took, the grammar schools would be changed. Traditionally they held a prestigious position within the community and it was to be expected that the grammar school supporters would resist any change which threatened the status of these schools.

In November 1962, Wallasey Education Committee (Mins., 6.11.62) set up a special sub-committee to "collect information on the desirability of the application of the Leicestershire Plan to Wallasey or any alternative scheme for the organisation of secondary education in this borough." To quote Humphrey (op.cit., p.17), "the Head Teachers and staffs of the grammar schools immediately sprang to their ramparts". Before the end of the Autumn term, the Head Teachers of Highfield and Wallasey Grammar Schools wrote separate, but similarly phrased letters to the Director which expressed their "shock and concern" (Wallasey Papers).

Letters to Stewart Mason did not come only from the Director in Wallasey. Early in 1963 (Wallasey Papers), the School Masters' Association (N.A.S.) invited the architect of the Leicestershire scheme to come and address them and comment on its suitability for Wallasey. Before replying to this overture Mason consulted Rowland as to whether the invitation should be accepted, and if so what should be said to the School Masters. Of course these consultations were unknown to the teachers.

The Director for Wallasey recognised that one of the first objections to be levelled against comprehensive re-organisation would be that standards would fall. This charge masked the concern that Sixth Forms would be reduced in size, and the size of the Sixth Form affects significantly the number of posts permitted above the basic scale and the capitation allowance for the school. If this concern

was essentially personal, professionally the teachers doubted whether there would be sufficient specialist teachers in the second tier schools should such a pattern be adopted.

There was never any serious possibility of applying the Leicestershire plan to Wallasey. In Leicestershire each former grammar school served an area of the county. Wallasey's grammar schools were not so conveniently distributed. This conclusion was reached in an Interim Report of the Education Sub-Committee, dated April 1963. Additionally there was the key question of third tier provision for Catholic children, particularly boys. For them there was no selective school within the Borough. In the event, this did indeed prove to be a critical issue. Following a resolution of the Borough Council (Mins., 27.5.63) that the re-organisation sub-committee should focus on a scheme which would remove selection at eleven plus, the Director wrote to Monsignor Rees of the Shrewsbury Diocesan Commission which was responsible for the Catholic schools in this area. Briefly he outlined the implications for the Roman Catholics if Wallasey re-organised. The Director asked whether they could feel it desirable to adopt a scheme similar to that of the Authority or prefer to retain selection. If they chose the former, then the reserved places in the neighbouring Authority would no longer be required, but if they decided on the second option Roman Catholic pupils could not have a "double opportunity", i.e. for selection at eleven plus and choice for entry to the County third tier schools at thirteen if they were unsuccessful in the first procedure. Historically, this letter came to take on considerable significance.

Also at this time Mr. Rowland was actively seeking comparative evidence to rebut "the fall in standards argument". His former Chief, Sir Alec Clegg in a private note advised him "good results with the more able pupils must not be achieved at the expense of the

majority" and Stewart Mason assured him that there was no evidence to suggest poorer standards or earlier leaving in Leicester. The Chief Education Officer for Lancashire was less confident that "standards" would not fall, at least in the short term. In a personal remark to the present writer, Sir Edward Boyle commented that the different approaches to comprehensive education in the West Riding and Lancashire reflected very much the personal relationships between their Chief Education Officers.

The "unrelieved opposition" of the teachers' unions and the public concern articulated in the local press provided the context in which the Director presented a further report to the Re-organisation Sub-Committee in July 1963. Mr. Rowland maintained that for the "all through" comprehensive to offer an acceptable range of "O" and "A" level courses, the school roll would need to approach 1,500 pupils. Such schools were not a practical proposition in Wallasey without considerable extensions to existing buildings and the erection of new ones. All parties were then agreed that the Leicestershire Plan was not appropriate to Wallasey for educational and accommodational reasons (Humphrey, op. cit., p.19). This report also contained the important observation that the "improvement and amelioration of the status quo is better than re-organisation".

The contention that the Director in the July Report stressed the considerable difficulties of the Leicestershire Plan and Two Tier schemes as a background against which to advance publicly the claims of a three tier system with transfer at eight, nine or ten and twelve or thirteen years must still remain conjecture. Certainly he had no enthusiasm for the Leicestershire Plan, but he was attracted to the notion of middle schools (Wallasey Papers). In October 1963 the Education Committee recorded that it "was favourably impressed with ..... a proposed new

three tier scheme, requiring non-selective transfer at nine-plus and thirteen plus" (Mins., 28.10.63). At this stage the Education Committee formally sought the opinion of the Wallasey teachers on the schemes suggested to date. In response, the Joint Consultative Council of Wallasey Teachers' Organisation set up a working party to consider the proposals, and in Humphrey's words (op. cit. P.22) "damned the lot". As an administrator with the L.E.A., Humphrey examined the changing attitudes of the J.C.C. towards re-organisation, and particularly the views expressed by its chairman, Mr. Mason, who was a primary headteacher. It is Humphrey's opinion that the J.C.C. inaccurately appraised the Authority's arguments and motives.

The immediate upshot of these formal deliberations and unofficial exchanges between politicians and teachers' representatives was that, in January 1964, the Education Committee concluded that none of the schemes offered significantly improved the system, and asked the J.C.C. to look again at the alternatives, particularly the scheme known as the Doncaster Plan. In essence, the Doncaster Plan involved a two year course at a high school followed by transfer at thirteen to a grammar school for those wishing to proceed to "A" level or other specialist courses. All other pupils remained at the high school until fifteen or sixteen years of age. The Education Committee's view was promptly rejected by the full Council which re-affirmed its position that selection should be abolished and that all practical forms of re-organisation should be explored which would meet this objective.

Although these negotiations concerned a local issue, the various interest groups in Wallasey were seeking evidence and advice on a wider front. Confidences between the Director and Chairman were not fully shared at this time, and the significant political dimension is illustrated by the support which Mr. Rowland received from the Wallasey Third

Branch of the Amalgamated Engineers' Union. Again, it seems that this interest was not initiated locally (Wallasey Papers).

Elsewhere (p.58) in this study, reference is made to the significance of the 1964 Education Act. A few days after this proposed legislation was first introduced as a Bill into the House of Lords, the Director for Wallasey wrote to the then Ministry of Education asking for clarification on the implications of this development for the re-organisation of education in Wallasey. A Ministry official replied that the very limited number of schemes would be "genuinely experimental" and that no general policy statement should be inferred (Wallasey Papers). Mr. Rowland was aware of Sir Alec's negotiations in the West Riding, and through the local H.M.I. the Director received verbal support to proceed with plans for a three tier scheme for Wallasey. This episode clearly illustrates that central government policy cannot fully be inferred from correspondence alone at the time significant decisions are being made.

During the Spring and Summer of 1964 detailed feasibility studies for non-selective schemes were prepared for consideration by the full Council in the following November. These included "all through" Comprehensive Schools, Comprehensive Schools in groups of buildings based on four areas of the Borough, variations on a two tier model, a three tier system including middle schools, and a Sixth Form College. The specific details of these various plans do not need exposition here; they can be found in Humphrey's study (op. cit., pp. 40-53). What is significant for this thesis is the different fronts, both public and private, on which planning proceeded, and the fact that participants on one front were not always aware of developments or otherwise on the other. Only a very small group of L.E.A. officials had access to Ministry correspondence and informal observations.

Although the Council had six schemes formally to consider in November 1964, the Director and the local H.M.I. were already oriented towards a three tier model including middle schools. This is not to say that the fine detail had been settled. Subsequently, the several problems which beset the three tier scheme will be enumerated. But by administrative action the Director had cast re-organisation in a specific way before either the teacher organisations had come to accept the scheme as the best available or the plan had been approved in principle by the Local Authority.

On 2nd November 1964 the Education Committee recommended the adoption of a three tier system with transfer at the ages of nine and thirteen. This general position was confirmed by the full Council on 7th December 1964 which resolved that :

"(a) a three tier system of education with transfer between schools at age nine comprehensively and age thirteen on parental choice to schools offering a common basic academic syllabus with varying specialist emphases, be developed from the present system of county schools in Wallasey,

(b) as an immediate first step the observations of the Secretary of State for Education and Science be obtained on whether or not he would be prepared to sanction a scheme for Wallasey based on transfer at nine and thirteen years, and if this decision was negative, a working party should proceed to prepare a detailed scheme and timetable of development embodying the principles contained in (a) of this resolution, but with transfer ages acceptable to the Secretary of State and within the existing law."

Following the formal resolution to proceed with a three tier scheme, the teacher opposition to re-organisation became more declaratory. The Secretary to the Teachers' Consultative Committee wrote to the

Secretary of State to complain of lack of consultation by the Authority. In turn the D.E.S. asked for the Director's observations on this charge. This accusation was denied by the Authority (Wallasey Papers). In the same letter the Director asked for formal clarification from the Secretary of State concerning the re-organisation proposals, but the official reply remained that the Secretary of State intended to issue a statement of government policy in due course, and that at that time (March 1965) he did not want to anticipate this announcement.

In April 1965 a Working Party of teacher representatives and L.E.A. officials was set up to work out the practicalities of the policy decision to adopt a three tier scheme. This Working Party started its deliberations in a climate of teacher hostility and with the Director being unable to state officially that the scheme would be accepted by the Secretary of State as "genuinely experimental". According to the public statements from the Department, this Working Party could be wasting its time.

The result of the Municipal Elections held in May 1965 did not ease the path towards re-organisation. The Conservatives were returned with a comfortable majority, and in a private memorandum to the Director, the Chairman of the Education Committee stated that the town would be unhappy if the grammar schools were taken away or changed beyond recognition. (Wallasey Papers). Councillor Hutty acknowledged the limitations of selection at eleven plus, but wanted "specialist emphases" in the third tier schools. This suggestion, which became known as the Hutty Plan, that the various third tier schools should have either an "academic" or a "technical" bias was vigorously opposed by the Heads of these schools because they feared that those schools which would be designated as non-academic would become "rump schools". L.E.A. officials were also

opposed to this scheme because it would, in addition, be unlikely to yield an equitable distribution of pupils with similar abilities between schools unless some form of selection at thirteen plus was to be adopted. In a personal letter to Councillor Hutty, the Director told him of his personal and the Department's opposition to the plan. Mr. Rowland concluded "I know that you will find this very disappointing".

Because the problems of re-organisation were so diverse, it was decided on 20th December 1965 that the Teacher representatives of the Working Party should divide into three panels to consider the problems of each tier respectively. In a paper dated 8th March, 1966, the Chairman of the First Tier Panel asked the Director whether they could consider first schools for pupils aged five to eight years because the panel felt that such schools had much to recommend them. The reply was firmly negative. Understandably the Chairman claimed that they "were in a strait jacket" (Wallasey Papers). By now the detail of the Director's early thinking was becoming clear. Between January and June 1966, the members of the First and Second Tier Panels were primarily concerned with the proportion of male staff in these schools, the number of "graded posts" available and their career prospects. Colleagues on the Third Tier Panel wrestled with the problems of parental choice vis-a-vis the balance of pupil ability within the schools. Indeed the Chairman of the Third Tier Panel was distressed to hear that these schools would take the whole ability range. Pedagogical issues such as the correspondence between the stages of development and appropriate curricular content were far from the agenda of Panel Meetings at this time.

Significantly costings were only given to the Working Party for the suggested scheme. Without alternative estimates the teacher

representatives were never in a real position to challenge the three tier model. Later (November 1968) in a private letter to Reese Edwards, Mr. Rowland stated, "we never did cost any comparison with the eleven to eighteen all through school ... (because).. Wallasey did not have a single school with accommodation for more than 600 plus". In terms of the "allocation of resources" thesis the management of this kind of knowledge was restricted to a few within the "office".

While these Panels were deliberating, the Director was receiving written informal observations from the Department. It was suggested from Curzon Street that First Tier Schools should not exceed two form entry (2 F.E.), but there was no experience to enlighten their views on the size of middle schools. D.E.S. Official 2 felt, subjectively, that 4 F.E. was preferable to 5 F.E. His guidance on allocation to Third Tier Schools, however, was much more specific: there should be a common procedure for the allocation of pupils to schools, and no school should receive a privileged quota of ablest pupils.

In a further note the same official suggested to the Director the format for the Authority's submission. It should contain: pupil numbers and building details, the respective numbers in the maintained and voluntary schools, projected numbers over the subsequent five years, a map showing the location of schools, the details of transition procedures, staffing data - showing how the L.E.A. will ensure "sufficient" men in the middle and first schools, and observations on middle school curricula. Additionally, the Authority should be able to demonstrate that the capital cost of re-organisation in a system of middle schools nine to thirteen would not be appreciably greater than that for other forms of re-organisation based on a transfer at the age of eleven. Again the official stressed that the submission must show that it will

not involve more expenditure in connection with ROSLA than would be required if the transfer age were eleven. Indeed, if it could be shown that the middle school plan will result in capital savings in connection with ROSLA, then this should be detailed. (Wallasey Papers). This is one of the most telling documents in the middle schools rhetoric and economic reality debate. (Bryan and Hardcastle, 1977; Hargreaves, forthcoming).

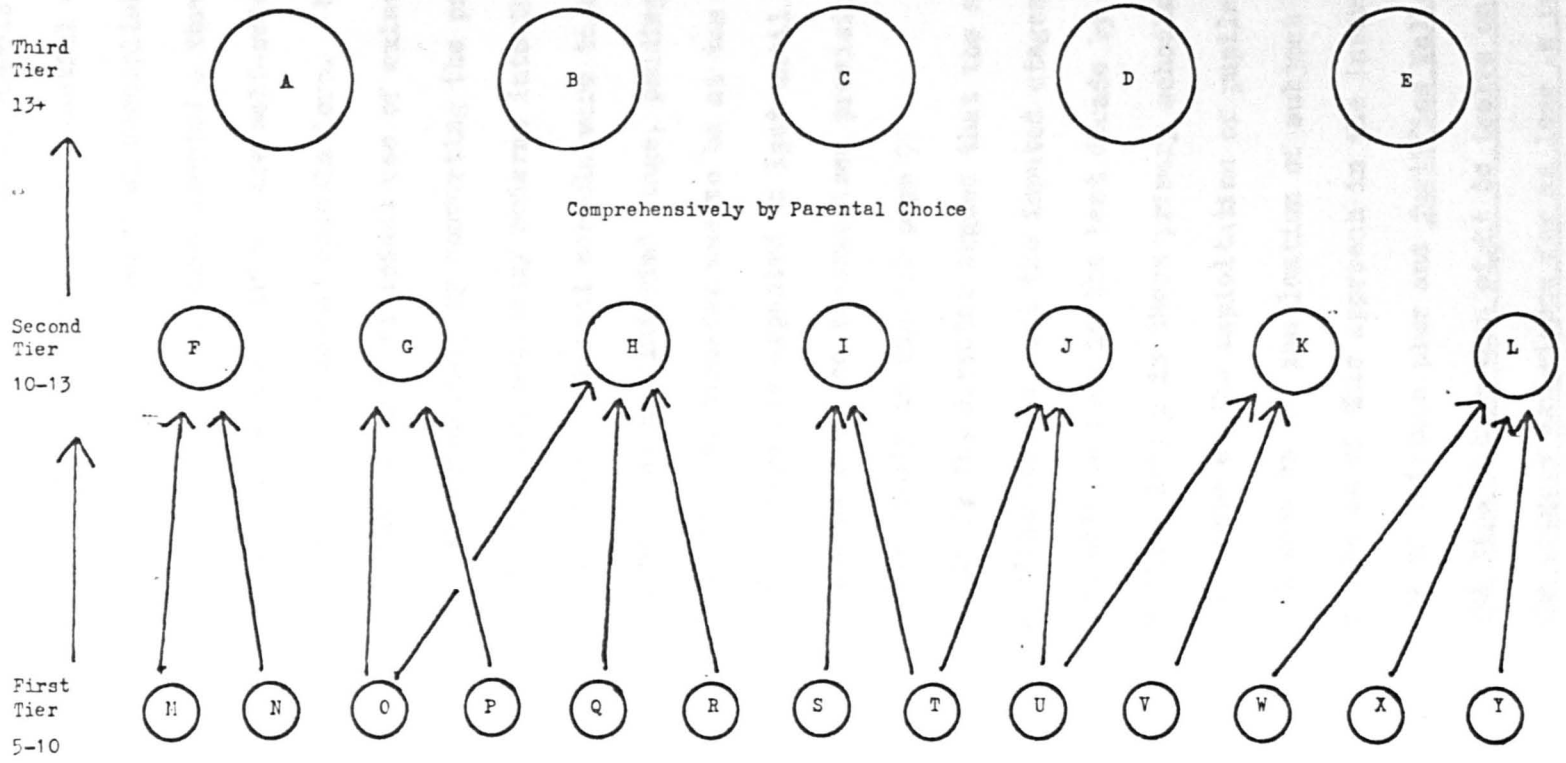
With the publication of Circular 10/65, Wallasey was able to pursue its re-organisation plans more vigorously with the Department while at the same time maintaining and extending the networks which had been established previously. Mr. Rowland remained in contact with Sir Edward Boyle, whose Party was now in opposition, via the Conservative Party Research Department (Wallasey Papers). The Directors for Wallasey and Hull had several problems in common concerning the development of nine to thirteen middle schools, and they discussed their respective approaches to the Department. Now that comprehensive re-organisation was official government policy, the critical position of capital investment was stressed. Without such investment re-organisation would "become another hotch potch" which neither Authority would be prepared to accept. (Wallasey Papers). Mr. Rowland also kept in touch with Stewart Mason and Sir Alec Clegg, as well as informing the neighbouring Authorities of Birkenhead, Liverpool and Bootle of developments.

By July 1966 all interested parties in Wallasey had accepted more or less enthusiastically that a three tier scheme with transfer at nine and thirteen was the most practical in the circumstances (Ed. Committee Mins., 19.7.66). From outright opposition in 1964, within two years the teachers' organisations had come to a recognition that radical change was necessary. To Humphrey (op. cit.,) this was the most significant change. The Director's ideas had been accepted more

or less enthusiastically and planning moved into a more public and assertive phase. When the schene was discussed and approved by the full Council on 27th July, 1966, the Chairman of the Education Committee remarked, "if the Secretary of State cannot approve the proposed expenditure, then he must be told that the scheme must be deferred until he can" (Humphrey, op. cit., p.62).

When the "Re-organisation of Education Scheme" was submitted to the D.E.S. on 12th August, 1966, several issues were still outstanding. First, the Teachers' Consultative Committee maintained that the scheme submitted had been amended from the one they had agreed. They understood that all third tier schools would have similar proportions of the three broad ability bands, but the submission did not contain this qualification (Wallasey Papers). Secondly, there were serious accommodation problems at the Rowland Hutty Secondary Modern School and in the Moreton area. In the former, there was excess accommodation if the school were to become a four form entry middle school, while there was inadequate accommodation in the latter area. Not surprisingly, finance was a critical issue. The details of the necessary expenditure were set out in a letter from the Director to the Borough Treasurer, dated 6th July, 1966. Altogether a sum of £900,000 was required. This included improvements and additions to third tier schools, and the necessary modifications to the designated first and middle schools. Most of this expenditure was to be met from the extra allowances for ROSLA and from monies which previously had been made available for a new secondary modern girls' school in Moreton. Finally, the submission to the D.E.S. concluded with a paragraph on Roman Catholic Schools. It read: "The Roman Catholic Authorities have received details of this scheme and have been invited to consider similar developments in Roman Catholic Schools. It is

Fig. 5. Reorganisation of Education in Wallasey, County Schools



understood that discussions proceeding at Diocesan Level include consideration of system for Roman Catholic Schools in Wallasey parallel to those proposed for County Schools" (Wallasey Papers). Each of these issues was to create substantial difficulties for the Authority before re-organisation became an accomplished fact.

The reasons why Wallasey adopted a three tier system with ages of transfer at nine and thirteen are self-evident from an inspection of the "roofs over heads" calculations. Understandably the Authority had to make the most efficient use of existing buildings, and this was achieved generally by converting the primary into first schools, the non-selective secondary moderns into the new middle schools, while the grammar and technical schools were to constitute the third tier provision. As an "interim" stage, pending the necessary building and alterations, transfer was to be at ten and thirteen years. This "interim" stage was expected to last until the early nineteen seventies. The essentials of the re-organised provision for Wallasey are presented diagrammatically in Fig.5:1 page 99 .

Publicly the Director argued that the submission was an organisational framework to meet the imputed stages of children's development:

> "The advance made in the last decade by children of all ability levels in those primary schools which have come to rely more on the exploitation of pupils' individual experience and less on the inculcation of subject knowledge justifies the extension of this approach in the intermediate schools up to the age of thirteen plus and <u>justifies Wallasey's choice of nine to thirteen rather than eight to twelve on the grounds that it prolongs the primary experience for as long as possible</u>." (K. Rowlands, Avoiding Fragmentation, 1967. Italics mine).

Privately, in a letter to Councillor Meredith of Nuneaton, Mr. Rowland rehearsed the above arguments, but concluded: "in fairness, I must point out that nine to thirteen fits our present buildings very well" (Wallasey Papers). It will be remembered that the First Tier Panel were told that transfer at eight plus was impossible. This is but one instance of the resolution by administrative fiat of issues which are amenable to empirical test. The possibility that an empirical test of an educational contention may yield an administratively inconvenient solution could not be risked.

The extent of the accommodational problems is reflected in the time the D.E.S. took to consider the scheme. (See Tabs.5:1 and 5:2 p.102-3 Formal approval was finally received on 7th June, 1967, some nine months after the submission. Provision at the Third Tier level, particularly for Roman Catholic children, was the central issue. Throughout this nine month period correspondence and discussions with the officers of the D.E.S. were taking place. The officers made it clear very early that the probability of the L.E.A. justifying a major project in the building programme up to 1971 was "not high". It was suggested that a sum of £769,000 could be accumulated by 1971 mainly from the ROSLA monies of £70,000 p.a. between 1968/69 and 1970/71 and various minor works estimates. (Wallasey Papers). According to Humphrey (op. cit., p.70), the use of the minor works and supplementary budget was "prompted one feels by reasons not solely educational, the real purpose was the relief of unemployment on Merseyside". Humphrey also explains the long delay before approval was received in terms of the Department's concern that the conversion of ex-secondary to middle schools was an uneconomial use of space (op. cit., p.78).

To focus only on Wallasey's middle school accommodation is sufficient to illustrate the severe financial constraints. The conversion of

TAB.5:1

RE-ORGANISATION OF EDUCATION IN WALLASEY : MIDDLE SCHOOL PROVISION

COUNTY SCHOOLS

School.	Present Accommodation in Classes of 30.	Arranged in Classes of 32. Interim (10-13)	Final (9-13)
F	450	5 F.E. = 480	4 F.E. = 512
G	450	" "	" "
H	550	" "	" "
I	550	" "	" "
J (i)	700	4 F.E. = 384	" "
(ii)		4 F.E. = 384	" "
K	450	5 F.E. = 480	" "
L	450	" "	" "
		3,648	4,096

TAB. 5:2

MIDDLE SCHOOLS (1970) : TEACHING AREA.

School.	Total Teaching Area.	No. of Teaching Spaces.	Est. Av. Year Group.	No. of Forms	Est. No. on Roll (10-13).
F	21,064	25	162	16	486
G	19,240	22	155	15	465
H	18,505	22	160	16	480
I	19,436 +	24 + 2	175	17	525
J	29,958	34	240	24	720
K	22,065	25	160	16	480
L	17,596	20	150	15	450

Wallasey Grammar School to Upton Middle, and of Wood Lane Junior to Wood Lane Middle would each cost £50,000, yet the estimates merely allowed £30,000 for all other work on the remaining middle schools. As Humphrey (op. cit., p.85) astringently remarks, "a sum hardly adequate to permit the conversion of toilet accommodation for co-education, let alone any educational improvements".

Only two days before the approval was received (5th June, 1967), the Director wrote a memo to the Chairman of the Education Committee which stated: "The continued delay in a decision on this matter raises the question of the date by which it would be possible to bring such a scheme of re-organisation into effect. It now appears, both on the grounds of preparation for re-organisation and for the buildings which will be necessary for the first stages to be effective, that it will not be possible for this to commence in 1968. On the other hand, it will still be possible for the interim stage to be reached as originally planned by 1970." (Wallasey Papers). If this likely delay came to be, then it would be necessary to reconvene the Classification Board for 1968. These thoughts were amplified in a subsequent memo, dated 30th June, 1967, to the Education Committee. Mr. Rowland reported that by 1968 the First and Second Tier schools could fulfil the demands made upon them, but "it would be quite unrealistic" to contemplate that the number of third tier places could be available at the same time. In the Director's opinion there were three options open to the Committee: they could defer for one year the programme now approved by the D.E.S., i.e. implementation would be from 1969 to 1971, rather than 1968 to 1970. Alternatively, the programme could be adjusted to start in 1969, but accelerate the interim scheme so that it could be operational for 1970. Both these options, though, would involve some form of allocation at

eleven plus to existing secondary schools for the 1968 cohort. The third option would permit a 1968 start and avoid selective allocation. This would require transferring the eleven plus comprehensively to the second tier, but the thirteen plus cohort would remain for the first year of operation in the non-selective secondary schools.

Each option presented difficulties. Deferment meant classification for 1968. In the context of public opinion which had been led to believe that the eleven plus had ended, this was a serious problem. The third strategy had important implications for examination programmes in secondary schools. Whichever choice was made, the consequences for the teachers would be immediate and considerable. Thus it was decided to refer the problem to the J.C.C. which recommended that the fifteen year olds should be allowed to complete their courses in their present schools, while the choice should be given to the fourteen plus cohort (i.e. third year pupils) to transfer to the Third Tier Schools for two year courses.

Days before the end of the Summer Term, and only six weeks after the receipt of the Secretary of State's approval, the Director wrote to the parents of each child in the Authority's schools setting out the intended time-table for re-organisation. This sequence is set out in Table 5:3 on page 106. If these difficulties require emphasis, it should be noted that this period of implementation coincided with the substantial public expenditure cuts carried out by the Labour Government in 1967 and 1968, one of which was the postponement of ROSLA.

The consequences for middle schools of this implementation strategy were considerable. The intake in the early years would be "comprehensive", but the "upper school" would be distinctively secondary modern. Certainly this was not the best climate in which to try and develop a distinctive middle school curriculum or "prolong the primary experience." When replying to a letter from Professor Ross concerning a Schools Council

TAB.5:3 TIME_TABLE FOR RE-ORGANISATION.

Age on 1st September 1967.	Born Between.	School attending September, 1967.	First Transfer.	Second Transfer.
14 +	2.9.52 - 1.9.53	Secondary	To 3rd Tier in 1968 for longer course or stay to complete ivth year.	
13 +	2.9.53 - 1.9.54	Secondary	To 3rd Tier in 1968 for 2 yr. course, or stay for 1 yr. and leave at 15.	
12 +	2.9.54 - 1.9.55	Secondary	To 3rd Tier in 1969 for 2 yr. course, or stay for 1 yr. and leave at 15.	
11 +	2.9.55 - 1.9.56	Secondary	All to 3rd Tier in 1969 for 3 yr. course. ROSLA to 16 yrs.	
10 +	2.9.56 - 1.9.57	Junior	To 2nd Tier in 1968 for 2 yrs.	To 3rd Tier in 1970 for 2 or 3 yr. course.
9 +	2.9.57 - 1.9.58	Junior	To 2nd Tier in 1969 for 2 yrs.	To 3rd Tier in 1971 for 2 or 3 yr. course.
8 +	2.9.58 - 1.9.59	Junior	To 2nd Tier in 1970 for 2 yrs.	To 3rd Tier in 1972 for 2 or 3 yr. course.
7 +	2.9.59 - 1.9.60	Junior	To 2nd Tier in 1970 for 3 yrs.	To 3rd Tier in 1973 for at least 3 yr. course.

Project, Mr. Rowland (10.9.68) put the best gloss on the situation: "A great deal has been done ..... in preparation for the middle school system, but so far as the development of the curriculum is concerned, not a great deal has been committed to paper." (Wallasey Papers). In 1968, curricular matters could at best be on the periphery of the Director's vision.

The "Catholic Problem" was the focal point of his concern. It will be remembered that in May 1963 Mr. Rowland informed Mgr. Reese of the Shrewsbury Diocesan Commission which was responsible for the Roman Catholic Schools in this area, that the Authority intended to re-organise its schools along non-selective lines, and the Catholic Authorities were invited to consider similar developments. For four years nothing of substance was done. In March 1968 when the L.E.A. scheme was almost ready for implementation, the Diocesan Commission showed that it held a key position. Catholic opinion was mobilised to defend voluntary interests. Officially the Commission was neither vigorously for comprehension, nor decidedly for selection. But it was determined to ensure that Catholic children were not disadvantaged vis-a-vis their peers in the maintained system. If the L.E.A. provision was non-selective, then no Catholic child who "failed" a selective examination should be restricted to a secondary modern school. Equally his right to a distinctive education must be preserved. Put simply, the Catholic Authorities could not re-organise on a three or two tier basis without additional High School provision. If they retained selection while the L.E.A. "went comprehensive", Roman Catholic parents might well remove their children from the denominational schools and transfer them to those provided by the Local Authority. In either case both providing Authorities would be in a dilemma. Presumably for financial reasons, the "status quo" was satisfactory for the Catholic Authorities.

The existing school provision did not match satisfactorily either the age structure of the Catholic School population or its geographical distribution. To the Eastern side of the Borough there was insufficient primary school places, while to the West accommodation was surplus. This Voluntary Body controlled three secondary modern schools, one of which had been recently opened, and in each there was surplus capacity. As explained earlier, it was the shortage of selective secondary school places which presented the major problem. The St. Mary's Roman Catholic Girls' Grammar School was overcrowded with approximately 330 girls, and all the boys who were selected for grammar school education travelled outside the Borough, either to St. Francis's Birkenhead, or St. Mark's Liverpool. This problem was compounded by Birkenhead's imminent re-organisation on a different three tier basis, i.e. first schools for the five to eight year olds, middle schools for the eight to twelves, and high schools for the twelve plus age group.

Twelve months earlier, in March 1967, the Catholic Teachers' Working Party, following the Wallasey model, had suggested the conversion of the denominational primary schools to first schools for the five to nines, the adaptation of St. Benedict's, St. Theresa's and Thomas Acquinas secondary moderns to middle schools, and the enlargement of the St. Mary's School, together with a new high school for the Catholic boys. For the reasons described above, this was not a practicable suggestion, at least in the intermediate future.

The Director had long realised the possible implications of inadequate Roman Catholic school provision. By 1968 with nothing specific achieved, the problem had become acute. On 14th February, the Director wrote to the D.E.S. asking for an immediate interview. Just two days later Mr. Rowland and the Chairman of the Education Committee travelled to Curzon Street to see D.E.S. Official 2 to ascertain "where they could put

the Roman Catholic pupils." This officer was unable to offer any practical help. In the middle of March Mgr. Reese wrote again to the Director saying that he still envisaged a Roman Catholic scheme parallel to that of the Borough, but there would have to be a difference of timing. While the L.E.A. scheme scheduled the transfer of the ten plus cohort in 1970, the same transition would have to be delayed until 1971 for Catholic children. And, of course, there was still the question of third tier accommodation! In reply the Director suggested that the L.E.A. could allow the Roman Catholic boys the use of the old Upton building in Manor Road, but the Catholic response was unenthusiastic, to say the least. This accommodation was inferior, and if the Roman Catholics accepted this offer, they felt that it would be viewed as appropriate accommodation in the "roofs over heads" calculations.

At the same time that the Catholic officials were negotiating with the L.E.A., they - and the Central Committee of Wallasey Catholic Parents - were lobbying the D.E.S. Under considerable pressure from the L.E.A., the Shrewsbury Diocesan Commission submitted in mid-March 1968 an interim plan for the re-organisation of Catholic schools in Wallasey. The frenetic pace of these negotiations is best illustrated by the observation that the Director sent this interim plan to the Department on the same day that he received it from Mgr. Reese.

Inevitably this interim scheme made several important assumptions. In outline it was similar to the L.E.A. submission, but it made no provision for the optional transfer of pupils who were fourteen plus and in non-selective schools. This was because there were no schools to which they could go. Also there was not the same pressure for space in St. Benedict's, St. Theresa's and Thomas Acquinas Secondary Modern Schools as there was in the County Borough non-selective schools. It was suggested that the Roman Catholic thirteen plus cohort would transfer in 1970 to the third tier,

and that in 1971 the ten and eleven plus age groups would transfer simultaneously from their primary schools to give effect to the interim middle schools in the former St. Benedict's, St. Theresa's and Thomas Acquinas buildings. Boys' Third Tier accommodation would be essential for September 1970. The Catholic Authorities hoped to have a new school by then, but if not the Upton building in Manor Road would have to suffice. (Wallasey Papers).

In a letter dated 26th Match, 1968, D.E.S. Official 4 stated that the Department had not been fully appraised as to the extent to which Roman Catholic pupils, particularly boys, had transferred to County Secondary Schools at the age of eleven plus. This made it crucial to co-ordinate effectively the L.E.A. and Roman Catholic plans. In retrospect the Official felt that it had been precipitate to have set the date for the County Plan without first ascertaining that a practical scheme for Roman Catholic schools could also be devised to start in September 1968. He pointed out that the Department had received a number of objections from Roman Catholic interest groups to the County proposals which were now subject to public closure notices under Section 13 of the 1944 Act. The objections were on the grounds that no alternative provision in aided schools had been made for pupils who under the Authority's plan would no longer have access to County Schools. In his frank view, these objections were well founded and he saw no reason to think that the Minister would believe otherwise. In an even more forthright paragraph, he stated that the Department would not allow itself to be manoeuvred into underwriting Roman Catholic re-organisation in September 1968 on the basis that major projects would follow in a specified time. D.E.S. Official 4 concluded that the possibility of putting back the whole scheme - L.E.A. and Roman Catholic - for one year was a "live one". (Wallasey Papers). The Department's response both set back

and personally hurt the Director. Implicitly he was accused of bad faith.

In a private note to the Chairman of the Education Committee Mr. Rowland complained that some points were unfair. Certainly he had informed the Department about the extent of the Roman Catholic problem in previous discussion and informal correspondence. But this letter was not the Director's only worry on this score; within his own Authority he was receiving conflicting legal advice from the lawyers in the Housing and Education Departments concerning the legality of leasing the Upton buildings. If the Education lawyer's view that it was illegal to lease this property prevailed, then the re-organisation scheme would founder.

From the documentation it is unclear as to whether Mgr. Reese was informed of the Department's view before he wrote again to the Director on 5th April, 1968. In this letter he repeated his request for temporary accommodation to establish a top tier boys' school. "In addition", he asked, "if it were possible for the Authority to accept the optional transfer of boys at fourteen plus to the County top tier schools from our middle schools until our own proposed third tier is provided." Certainly Mgr. Reese had established a key bargaining position with both the Local Authority and the Department by doing little. In terms of the process of exchange, the Local Authority's plan could proceed only if this Authority provided the Roman Catholics with accommodation which they desperately needed but could not afford to buy.

Again on the day when he received this letter from Mgr. Reese, Mr. Rowland drafted a memo to the Education Committee in which he summarised the "informal observations" of the Department contained in the letter of the 26th March. He then asked the Committee to approve: (i) the availability of the Upton building for the Catholic boys, (ii) to support

a minor works proposal for £25,000 in order to broaden the facilities at St. Mary's High School, and (iii) to offer transfer at fourteen plus to the third tier County schools for boys in Roman Catholic non-selective secondary schools. The Monsignor had secured his "requests". (Wallasey Papers).

Six weeks later on 21st May, 1968, D.E.S. Official 4 wrote both to the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Wallasey Catholic Parents' Association and to the Director. To the former he explained that the Secretary of State shared the view that the educational opportunities available to pupils in Catholic schools should be no less than those available to pupils in County schools. And to the Authority he reported that the Secretary of State could accept unreservedly the long term plan for Roman Catholic re-organisation, and that the interim plan was acceptable on the basis that the conditions described above concerning the Upton and St. Mary's accommodation should be met. He concluded that the Secretary of State would "consider sympathetically" proposals for a minor works capital project at St. Mary's. On 19th June the Catholic Parents' Association notified the Authority that they accepted the interim scheme despite their reservations over third tier accommodation. Thus the implementation of re-organisation was guaranteed only a month or so before the end of the Summer Term 1968. On 28th August, 1968, the D.E.S. notified the Authority that Section (13(3) of the 1944 Act had been fulfilled; the closure of the unre-organised schools was official. The three tier system began on 1st September, 1968, "if only by the skin of its teeth" (Director to D.E.S. Official 4). The "Deeming Orders" for the Roman Catholic Middle Schools were received on 4th November, 1968, and it was agreed between the Authority and the D.E.S. that the County Middle Schools would be "deemed secondary" officially on 1st September, 1970.

If the Department and Roman Catholics were now satisfied, at least in the short term, this compromise stirred again the Director's long standing critics in the grammar schools. In a letter to Mr. Rowland, dated 13th June, 1968, the Head Teacher of Highfield railed: "I must repeat my warning that your written and implied instructions (concerning the admission of Roman Catholic boys in Third Tier Schools) will place additional strain on a school organisation which over the past three years has been subject to universal and invariably severe disruption." He concluded, "I gather you are prepared to accept responsibility for the steps I shall find it necessary to take in order to carry out your wishes." The Director replied that he appreciated the difficulties, but they were not insuperable. The Head Teacher was rightly concerned about the problems at Highfield, but Mr. Rowland reminded him that the Director's responsibility was for the Borough as a whole. He trusted the Head Teacher could see that. (Wallasey Papers).

The problems of implementing the approved interim schemes still remained. The Director reported to the D.E.S. in mid-October, 1969, that the Shrewsbury Diocesan Commission had recently written to state that they now wished to provide a new mixed Third Tier School, and that the governors of St. Mary's had decided to close the school as a consequence. Therefore he requested an urgent meeting between himself, the Chairman of the Education Committee and the Officers of the Department as soon as possible. This meeting took place on 11th November. D.E.S. Official 5 reported that the Diocesan proposal "had not found a place" in the 1971/2 list, but additional resources would be made available. Hence it was vital that the L.E.A. should submit a revised interim scheme for the Catholic Schools by the beginning of December. This same Official emphasised that whether a new school would be approved was a matter for the Secretary of State personally. (Wallasey Papers). This revised interim scheme

was submitted in late November 1969. It provided for the last fourteen plus cohort to remain in the middle school until 1971, by when it was anticipated that the new Third Tier School, St. Werburgh's College should at least have been started. The calculation was that by 1972, 600 pupils would be in the Manor Road building with another 600 in phase one of St. Werburgh's. Throughout this period the Central Committee of the Wallasey Catholic Parents' Association kept up continuous pressure on the D.E.S., and the M.P. for the Borough, Rt. Hon. Ernest Marples, intervened personally on their behalf with the Minister.

But it was not just the Catholic issue which troubled the Authority. The Managers of Parkgate C. of E. Junior School wanted to change from Controlled to Aided status when the school moved to Parkgate Girls and became the new Parkgate Middle School. The Director was not overstating the problems which he described in a letter to D.E.S. Official 6, who was Principal Officer for the North West Territory, as "quite a complicated matter". Mr. Rowland's request for guidance achieved the observation that essentially it was a matter between the Authority and the Managers. (Wallasey Papers).

The County Plan, too, was not trouble free. By October 1969 the Authority had reconsidered two proposals. First, it was decided to retain the Rowland Hutty Middle School as one school, rather than to establish two schools on the same site (see Ch. 10). The second problem was more difficult. The original County submission included the conversion of Wood Lane Junior to a middle school, but on reflection this became increasingly unattractive. Thus the Authority approached the Department with a view to making Wood Lane Junior into a First School, and using the adjacent Infant School as the nucleus for the proposed middle school. Architectural and accommodational considerations were the reasons behind

this revision of plan. This revised plan would cost a further £24,500, which the Authority claimed could be recovered from the minor works programme. Approval for this was received late in 1969.

By the autumn of 1970 the various problems which had accompanied the implementation of the interim schemes for the County and Catholic schools had been resolved satisfactorily. In the September, the ten plus age group transferred to the middle schools for a three year course. Approval was granted for the first phase of the new St. Werburgh's College in the 1970-71 estimates, and it was anticipated that St. Mary's School would close in 1972. The attention of the Central Committee of the Wallasey Catholic Parents' Association was then directed to ensuring that the programme ran to schedule. (Wallasey Papers).

Eleven years after the re-organisation of education in Wallasey was started, the scheme still remains in its "interim" stage. Local Government re-organisation in 1974 combined the former County Boroughs of Wallasey and Birkenhead with the Bebington and Deeside Districts, which were previously part of Cheshire, into the Metropolitan Borough of Wirral. From that date, it was most unlikely that the nine to thirteen scheme would become a reality.

In December 1974 the Director of Education for Wirral, who was formerly Chief Education Officer for Birkenhead, began "soundings" from which he proposed to formulate a report on the feasibility of producing a uniform system for the whole Authority. As part of those soundings, he canvassed teacher opinion. Three out of seven of the former County Wallasey second tier schools preferred to become eight to twelve middle schools, and not a single High School approved of the thirteen to eighteen age range for the third tier. (Wirral Papers).

THE RE-ORGANISATION OF EDUCATION IN CHESTER.

In the Municipal Elections held on 10th May, 1963, the Labour Party secured an overall majority of seats on Chester City Council which had a long tradition of Conservative control. This period of Labour control lasted for three years, but the last of these, 1965-66, was only made possible by Liberal support. The Conservatives regained control with an overwhelming majority in May, 1966. During that time, the Education Committee initiated the move towards the re-organisation of secondary education along comprehensive lines. Within six weeks of the 1963 Election, the new City Council resolved :

> "That (a) Chester Local Education Authority accepts in principle the abolition of the eleven plus examination, (b) the Secondary Education Sub-Committee prepare and submit a plan for an alternative method of selection for secondary education pending the ultimate introduction of comprehensive education, and (c) a sub-committee be established .... and asked to consider the implementation of the resolution and submit recommendations to the Sub-Committee." (C.C. Mins., 26.6.63)

To implement this resolution, the Education Committee established in October, 1963, a Re-organisation of Secondary Education Sub-Committee (R.S.E.). This R.S.E. Sub-Committee remained in existence until November 1969, when it was replaced by two smaller sub-committees to superintend the completion of the re-organisation. Initially, membership of the R.S.E. Sub-Committee consisted of Education Committee members, the Heads of the Authority's secondary schools, five primary school headteachers, representatives of the three Direct Grant Grammar Schools in the Chester area, and the local H.M.I. (E.C. Mins).

One of its first tasks was to devise a more flexible system of selection for secondary education, pending the introduction of a

comprehensive system. This was achieved by July 1964. The first paper on re-organisation which the R.S.E. Sub-Committee considered was drafted by the then Chief Education Officer, Mr. H. J. Hack, in September 1963. This paper simply described the comprehensive systems which were either in operation or under consideration nationally. Understandably the early discussions focussed on the Leicestershire and Doncaster Plans which at the time were pioneer schemes in the development of non-selective secondary schooling. Early in 1965 this Sub-Committee suggested an outline scheme for Chester which was similar to the Doncaster Plan. It will be remembered that the Doncaster Plan involved a two year course at a high school followed by transfer at thirteen to a grammar school for those wishing to proceed to "A" level or other specialist courses. All other pupils remained at the high school until fifteen years of age.

This first suggestion was overtaken by national events before detailed consideration could be given to it. In July 1965, the Labour Government issued Circular 10/65. From the description of this Circular in Chapter 4, it will be remembered that six alternatives were suggested, and that in the Department's view, schemes similar to the Doncaster Plan could only be accepted as interim stages on the path to a fully comprehensive system. The Chief Education Officer discussed the Chester problem with the local H.M.I., Miss A., who in turn consulted D.E.S. Official 3, who was responsible for the re-organisation of schools in the north of England. The "guidance" was similar to that offered to Wallasey: the Department could not advise officially until a scheme was submitted, but Miss A. could confirm that the references to finances in Circular 10/65 would stand; there would be no money forthcoming for re-organisation. Any re-organisation would have to be paid for out of ROSLA funds. Informally and unofficially Miss A. asked the Chief Education Officer to look at whether a two tier structure could be considered as an interim measure,

using existing buildings with perhaps the erection of one new comprehensive school. D.E.S. Official 3 reminded the Authority of the importance of approaching the Direct Grant Schools over the L.E.A. proposals. (DE/2/32/7, Chester Record Office). With the publication of Circular 10/65 and the Department's unofficial observations, the Education Committee recommended that the R.S.E. Sub-Committee should look again at this question.

When the Conservatives regained control in 1966, there were so many new members without experience of local government that the Chairmanship of the Education Committee temporarily remained with the previous Labour Chairman, Councillor Faizey. Also Mr. H. J. Hack retired as Chief Education Officer in July 1966, and was succeeded by Mr. L. E. Griffiths from the West Bromwich Local Education Authority. Thus in 1966, Chester had an inexperienced Education Committee and a new Chief Education Officer. During the Spring of 1967, the Conservatives tentatively suggested retaining the Grammar Schools, but developing the Hough Green Secondary Modern as a "comprehensive school". Parents of children in the Hough Green area would be given the choice of opting for selection to a grammar school or comprehensive education. Certain Conservatives saw this as a possible experiment in which the relative merits of grammar and comprehensive schools could be assessed. The new Chief Education Officer, Mr. Griffiths, advised the Conservative leaders that they should make up their minds as to whether they really wanted comprehensive education or not. To help them decide, Mr. Griffiths suggested they seek the guidance of Sir Edward Boyle, who had been Secretary of State for Education in the previous Conservative administration. As a result of this suggestion, three delegates - Alderman Ribbeck and Councillors Annabella Barnett and Moyra Leese, Chairman and Deputy Chairman

of the Education Committee respectively, - travelled to see Sir Edward Boyle on 2nd June, 1967,* to ascertain his and the Party's views on non-selective schooling. (Personal Papers; also DE/2/37). Sir Edward pointed out that as long as grammar schools existed there would be selection at eleven, and he particularly disliked the notion of the secondary modern school as the "second best". He fully appreciated the concern of the three councillors that "standards" should not fall, and he stressed the importance of ensuring well qualified teachers in any re-organised schools. In Sir Edward's view, Merton's nine to thirteen scheme had much to commend it, and he suggested that Chester might consider the possibility of a "weighted" three tier system whereby one middle school could take a larger proportion of brighter pupils. It is a coincidence that Sir Edward also suggested that the councillors take a look at re-organisation in West Bromwich, which was not contemplating middle schools. Before Mr. Griffiths had left the West Bromwich Authority, Sir Edward had taken a particular interest in re-organisation there. Sir Edward Boyle was then M.P. for Handsworth. Certainly, Sir Edward's opinions concerning the defieiencies of selection at eleven gave the Conservative caucus in Chester the reassurance they were seeking before proceeding with re-organisation plans.

When Mr. Griffiths became Chief Education Officer for Chester City in August 1966 considerable preparatory work had already been started in order to proceed to non-selective secondary schooling. Calculations made the previous January defined the economic options very clearly. An "all through" eleven to eighteen system would require some four thousand plus school places at a minimum cost of £1,430,000. The local H.M.I.'s

* There is some contention over the date of the visit: Alderman Ribbeck records the visit on 29th November, while Mrs. Leese says it occurred on 2nd June. Mr. Griffiths inclines to the June date. The papers in Chester Record Office date this meeting on 22nd June, 1966.

suggestion of a Junior Comprehensive for the eleven to thirteen's, with a Senior Comprehensive for the thirteen plus age group would eventually necessitate the building of one junior and two senior comprehensive schools, as well as extensions and adaptions to other secondary schools. The total cost for this option was in the region £1,800,000, while a fully developed system of eleven to sixteen schools with first one and later two Sixth Form Colleges would be even more costly at a projected £1,940,000 (DE/2/32/1 Chester Record Office). In 1966, the Authority was responsible for the following secondary schools in the city :

School.	Status.	Capacity.	No. on roll Jan. 1967.
Grammar (Boys)	County	575 places	590
Grammar (Girls)	County (G.S.)	575 "	568
Parkgate S.M.	County (with G.S. stream)	600 "	615
John Temple S.M. (Girls)	County (with G.S. stream)	600 "	535
Hough Green	County	600 "	504
St. Michael's Mixed	Voluntary Aided C.of E.	600 "	531
St. Chad's S.M.	Voluntary Special Agreement R.C.	450 "	450

Whatever form re-organisation was to take, its ultimate success would largely depend upon the response of the teachers who would have to work the system. The recently appointed Teachers' Consultative Council (J.C.C.) was an important interest group in this context. Its membership reflected the proportionate strengths of the main four teachers' associations in the City, viz., N.U.T., N.A.S., Joint Four and A.T.T.I. This Consultative Committee appointed a sub-committee of five members to monitor the re-organisation proposals. The early exchanges did not augur well for

"meaningful discussion". In a letter to the then secretary of the J.C.C., dated 1st July, 1965, Mr. Hack stated that "The Education Committee did not view ... (the J.C.C.) .... as a means of consultation on matters of major importance such as possible re-organisation of secondary education. As you know when any scheme of re-organisation has been formulated, it (the Education Committee) will consult teachers and teachers' organisations." (J.C.C. Papers). It is not surprising that the J.C.C. challenged this view vigorously. Fortunately, with the appointment of the new Chief Education Officer, this "consult afterwards" policy of the Education Committee towards the J.C.C. was not pursued.

The need for the accurate and quick dissemination of information to all interested parties was made plain early in the re-organisation negotiations. On 7th April, 1967, the Chief Education Officer found it necessary to write urgently to all Head Teachers in the Authority to correct an inaccurate comment in the local press. It was reported that the R.S.E. Sub-Committee had recommended a nine to thirteen system to the Education Committee before teachers generally had been consulted. Mr. Griffiths was anxious to inform all teachers that what he had said to this Sub-Committee was that the nine to thirteen system was one variant of a three tier pattern. If Chester adopted this model, then there would only be two upper schools in the City, whereas an eight to twelve model would permit three high schools in addition to a possible Catholic High School. In this letter he went on to say that in fact the Working Party and R.S.E. Sub-Committee preferred the eight to twelve variant, but the Secondary Education Sub-Committee formally recommended that the Education Committee should seek opinions on all options before coming to a decision. (Chester Papers; S.E.C., Mins., 17.3.67).

In order to facilitate a full appraisal of all the options open to the Authority, the Chief Education Officer was asked to prepare an

"Interim Report on the Re-organisation of Schools in Chester" (E.C. Mins., 26.4.67). This report was prepared and drafted by the Chief Education Officer and two of his senior colleagues within two months. The options presented in the Interim Report were based on the assumptions that the same number of free places would be available in the City's Direct Grant Schools, and that similar numbers of Cheshire County children, approximately 280, would continue to attend the City Grammar and High Schools. As with the re-organisation in Wallasey, Chester L.E.A. hoped that the Roman Catholic Authorities would re-organise on parallel lines and in phase with the Authority. Thus the projections for pupil numbers and school capacity were made separately for maintained and voluntary provision. In 1967, the Local Authority had accommodation for 22 form entry (f.e.) in the maintained secondary schools and 3 f.e. in the Catholic schools. It was calculated that by 1971 the maintained and voluntary provision would need to be increased by 3 f.e. and 1 f.e. respectively. Furthermore, it was projected that in a ten year period between 1971 and 1981, the numbers in the maintained schools would increase by the equivalent of a 3 f.e., and by a 1 f.e. in the Catholic Schools. (Interim Report, p.3). It has already been stated that the Authority would have to finance the re-organisation plan from the finances approved for ROSLA; in Chester's case, this was approximately £200,000 over a three year period. (Chester Papers).

Altogether four options were considered by the Re-organisation Sub-Committee early in 1967. As was explained in the section on re-organisation in Wallasey, the optimum size for an eleven to eighteen "all through" comprehensive school is usually considered to be about 1,500 pupils, i.e. a 9 f.e. It will be remembered that the Chester Authority calculated a 25 f.e. for the secondary school population which would be in wholly maintained schools in 1971. If Chester adopted three eleven to eighteen

high schools, one with 9 f.e. and two with 8 f.e., then the Authority would be left with two spare secondary school buildings. Even if the Authority chose three high schools with 6 f.e. and one with a 7 f.e., one secondary school would still be surplus. This surplus capacity was expected to persist until 1981. For these reasons, the R.S.E. Sub-Committee soon discarded the "all through" possibility. As was explained earlier the cost of this option was daunting.

The R.S.E. Sub-Committee considered a Sixth Form College to be an institution primarily for the academically able pupil who would study beyond "O" level, while the Junior College would cater for pupils of all ability levels above the age of sixteen taking "academic" and "vocational" courses. Administratively this option would perhaps have been easiest for the Authority. The existing secondary provision could have been adapted into five high schools for the eleven to sixteen age range, varying between five and seven form entry. These five high schools would "feed" the Sixth Form or Junior College. The support and opposition to this plan was predictable. The grammar schools staff opposed the scheme because they would lose their "specialist" teaching, particularly if the Sixth Form or Junior College was located within the Authority's College of Further Education. The A.T.T.I. and the Principal of the College of Further Education remained consistent advocates of this proposal. As late as July, 1970, well after the re-organisation scheme had been approved by the D.E.S., the Principal of the College was writing to the Chief Education Officer enunciating the merits of a Junior College and pointing out the Department's changed attitude since 1967. Early in 1967, however, this proposal received little support. The Department had made it clear to Mr. Griffiths in informal discussions that they could not approve such a plan unless a Sixth Form College attracted about three hundred and a Junior College about seven hundred students. Because the Sixth Forms

at the City Grammar and High Schools then totalled about 230 pupils, there was little chance of this alternative becoming a realistic proposal. In the longer term, this scheme was likely to be expensive as well. (Chester Papers; Personal Papers).

Whereas the Wallasey scheme was conceived in the very early nineteen sixties, re-organisation plans in Chester need to be located in the context created by Circular 10/65 and the evidence submitted to the Plowden Committee. By that time, the idea of middle schools had become a serious proposition. Indeed it was realised very early in 1967 that if re-organisation in Chester was to become a reality, it would have to be a three tier system. The only contention was whether transfer to and from the second tier schools would be at eight and twelve, or nine and thirteen (R.S.E. Mins., 19.3.67; Personal Papers). It appears that the initial suggestion for a three tier system came from the Chief Education Officer soon after his appointment, and not from the three Councillors who visited Sir Edward Boyle. In the first instance Mr. Griffiths favoured the nine to thirteen middle school (Interim Report, 1967, paras. 14 and 15; Personal Papers).

In this Interim Report, the Chief Education Officer rehearsed briefly the educational arguments in favour of middle schools and adumbrated the possible organisational arrangements which could realise a three tier scheme. He stated, "there is little real argument about the ages of transfer from the point of view of the lower and upper schools", but "real conflict appears in the view taken of the middle school". By June, 1967, Mr. Griffiths had had the opportunity to appraise the practical implications of the eight to twelve and nine to thirteen patterns for Chester. Paragraph 20 of the Interim Report implies a re-considered position:

"...it is probably on the practical grounds of how much

re-organisation would affect the existing schools and the conflict between the two schemes can be most clearly seen and it is only by studying the pattern of schools which will emerge from a decision between the two schemes that the balance of advantage can be weighed. In fact, with transfer at the ages of eight and twelve the three tier system is virtually identical with the all-through comprehensive school system with a simple change of the age of transfer in-line with the recommendation of the "Plowden Report". With transfer at nine and thirteen the scheme becomes an entirely new one for Chester, and would entail widespread re-organisation."

If an eight to twelve pattern was adopted all the existing junior schools would become middle. They would continue more or less in their present form, with the addition of the twelve plus age group. Accommodation wise, this would necessitate extra buildings and some internal adaptations for specialist teaching. Similar modifications would be necessary to the Infant buildings as they became First schools, and also contained an extra age group. At the third tier level, initially two alternative strategies were mooted. The first contemplated four upper schools, one with an eight form entry, and the remaining three with six form entries. Because a 6 f.e. high school is considered to be barely sufficient to maintain a wide range of subjects and an economic sixth form, this idea was soon to be modified. The second alternative contained two schemes, one operating in the North and the other South of the City. North of the City, there could be three 5 f.e. schools for the twelve to sixteen age group, and one of these schools could develop a sixth form to which pupils from the other two schools could transfer at the age of sixteen plus if they wished. South of the river, the Boys and Girls Grammar and Parkgate Schools could combine to form one upper school, with the

Parkgate buildings to be used as an annexe for science, engineering, craft, art and P.E.

Re-organisation with middle schools for the nine to thirteen age range would create more far reaching consequences for both primary and secondary schools. If middle schools for the nine to thirteen age range were chosen, then the Authority would only require two upper or high schools. Two schemes embodying nine to thirteen middle schools were deemed worthy of closer scrutiny. The first envisaged the joining of the Boys' and Girls' Grammar Schools to form one upper school. The second upper school would be developed from another secondary school, probably Hough Green in Area C. The basis for the new nine to thirteen middle schools would be the remaining secondary and selected junior schools, while the first schools would be ex-primary buildings. This option would require pupils in the third tier to travel from Area A to Area C if the Hough Green Secondary School were chosen as the nucleus for the second upper school. Alternatively if the John Temple Secondary School in Area A was chosen, fears were expressed that it might develop into a "neighbourhood school". Area A is composed largely of Council property, and the John Temple School is situated near to some of the Council's "hard to let" houses. The second nine to thirteen scheme also envisaged the combination of the Boys' and Girls' Grammar Schools to form one upper school, but for this scheme the Parkgate and St. Chad's Schools would be combined to form the second upper school. Again the middle schools would be developed on the remaining secondary and selected junior schools. The obvious difficulty with this proposal was that both upper schools would be South of the river. Finally, whatever re-organisation scheme was adopted some arrangement would be necessary between the L.E.A. and the Catholic Authorities over third tier accommodation.

The Interim Report was circulated to a wide range of interested parties in late June 1967. These included the various teachers' organ-

isations, the Shrewsbury Diocesan Schools' Commission for the Roman Catholics and the Chester Diocesan Education Committee for the Anglicans, the Chester Parents' Association, the Governing Bodies of the local secondary schools, including those for the Direct Grant Schools, the Managing Bodies of the primary schools and the staff of all schools in the L.E.A. It is well worth noting that the estimates for the various alternative schemes calculated in January, 1966, were not distributed with the Interim Report. In addition to these written representations, the Chief Education Officer embarked on a series of personal consultations with representatives of the voluntary bodies.

Before the end of the Summer Term 1967, the four schemes outlined in the Interim Report were discussed in school staff rooms and Governors' meetings. As a result of these discussions considered replies were returned to the Education Office during the late summer and early autumn. Almost without exception, the opinions expressed reflected sectional interest. The Chester and District Teachers' Association (N.U.T.), whose members came mostly from the Authority's primary schools was "overwhelmingly in favour of the ages of transfer eight and twelve", but before any re-organisation was initiated it asked for "complete assurance" that "suitable buildings and suitably qualified staff" would be forthcoming, and most importantly, "no scheme should be adopted which is tailored to fit the existing facilities". The Chester Head Teachers' Association advanced a similar view: "comprehensive education should be accepted only if it is the real thing." "The nine year old child needs to get away from the Infant School. The thirteen year old girl should be away from the middle school", and "the more able children should be moved to the school where they are to be examined later on, by twelve at the latest." For the Secondary Teachers, the Federated Association of Secondary Schools

concluded, "Failing the provision of an all-through purpose built comprehensive system, this Association would accept the principle of the three tier system and the age of transfer should be thirteen." In a very detailed reply, the N.A.S. stated that ideally they would prefer eleven to eighteen, but they recognised that this was impractical in Chester. Their members rejected any scheme which contained four high schools because this would not produce viable sixth forms. The attraction of the nine to thirteen system with two high schools was that it would produce "good large G.C.E. streams" and two sixth forms as at present. But the N.A.S. could not accept two high schools South of the City because this would lead to "the migration of thousands of children across the river." (Chester Papers). Importantly for the Authority, this Association pledged its goodwill to the re-organisation process.

The staff of the Boys' and Girls' Grammar Schools, whose amalgamation was planned whichever form of re-organisation was chosen, emphasised the importance of creating no more than two upper schools, again so that "viable sixth forms" could be ensured. Teachers at the Boys' Grammar School were "all agreed that thirteen must be the age of transfer", while the staff at the Girls' Grammar School would be prepared to consider transfer at twelve plus only if two upper schools were planned. The response of the teachers at the Boys' Grammar School was atypical. In the present writer's experience, grammar school teachers tend to prefer the twelve to eighteen school, probably because this least disturbs the pupil age range and school structure with which they are familiar. The John Temple staff were the only secondary teachers to justify their preference for transfer at thirteen plus on developmental grounds; they saw these as particularly appropriate to girls of this age. They were under no illusions, however, that finance would be the "motivating

factor" behind whatever scheme was finally chosen. The staff at Hough Green Secondary School were emphatic that there could be "no real comprehensive schooling" as long as the Authority took up places in the Direct Grant Schools. With the Chester Head Teachers' Association, the staff at John Temple were insistent that the "Authority should put aside ANY scheme where the sole merit is that it fits the building." (Chester Papers).

This opinion was also expressed in the primary schools: "we all deplore the fact that it is going to be impossible to introduce true comprehensive education into Chester." (Clevedon Road Junior School). Whatever the rhetoric, in practice the system would be made to fit the buildings because no additional money was forthcoming for new schools or major alterations. Given that they would have to choose between eight to twelve and nine to thirteen middle schools, the teachers at Clevedon Road preferred the former, if only because "this would require least re-organisation". Even after this school had become middle, the then Headmistress told the present writer, "Clevedon Road was a junior school and it will remain so." (Chester Papers).

Without exception, the staff at all the infant and junior schools in the L.E.A. opted for the eight to twelve middle school. Only one concluded that it would prefer "nine to thirteen in theory, but bearing in mind the particular problems of the City, a more practical arrangement would be for transfer at eight and twelve." Perhaps the most interesting views came from St. Michael's C.E. Secondary Modern: the Governors, who reflected the majority Anglican interest, preferred eight to twelve rather than nine to thirteen, while the teachers, many of whom belonged to the N.A.S., were firmly for nine to thirteen. (Chester Papers).

As in Wallasey, the re-organisation of secondary education in Chester provided the Roman Catholic Shrewsbury Diocesan Commission with a problem.

In Chester the Commission was responsible for two Roman Catholic Infant and Junior Mixed Schools, one separate Infant and Junior Mixed, as well as one co-educational Secondary Modern School and a Direct Grant Girls' Grammar School. Catholic boys in Chester either attended the maintained schools or travelled to Birkenhead. The Commission favoured a three tier pattern with transfer at eight and twelve. Again it was the upper school accommodation which presented the main difficulties. If the Roman Catholics were to produce a "viable unit" for twelve to eighteen pupils, then it would be necessary to amalgamate the Direct Grant Girls' Grammar and the co-educational Secondary Modern School. This option would require the ending of the Direct Grant status for the Convent School. Initially the Commission took the view that this would be unacceptable if the L.E.A. intended to continue arrangements with other Direct Grant Schools in the City. Accordingly the Commission replied in August, 1967, that "until .... the Authority have a solution to the Direct Grant problem in their scheme of re-organisation, we on our side cannot proceed further in serious consideration of how the Roman Catholic Authority will plan their top tier provision." (Chester Papers). The resolution of this problem is described later in this Chapter.

It is hardly surprising that the Governing Bodies of the other two Direct Grant Grammar Schools felt that they had little to contribute to the discussion considering the Local Authority's intention to maintain the Direct Grant link. The considerable L.E.A. supplement to their fee income seemed secure. The A.T.T.I., which represented the Further Education interest was concerned only with courses for the sixteen plus, and predictably the Joint Four took the view that "none of the schemes outlined ... (in the Interim Report) ... is likely to produce a pattern of education in Chester better than the present one." (Chester Papers).

By September, 1967, all the evidence pointed to the conclusion that if the re-organisation of secondary education was to be achieved in the foreseeable future, then it must be on a three tier basis. The remaining question was whether the second tier should be for the eight to twelve or the nine to thirteen age range. And even here the margins for choice were fine. An urgent decision was necessary because at this time it was believed that the school leaving age would be raised to sixteen in 1970/71. Financially, administratively and pedagogically, ROSLA and secondary re-organisation had to be phased in together. For the Chester Authority, ROSLA meant that extra accommodation would be necessary for approximately 450 pupils.

Figs.6:1 and 6:2 illustrate the two main options which the Assistant Education Officer presented to the Education Committee in September, 1967. The three tier pattern for eight to twelve middle schools is set out in Fig.6:1 As a result of the concern expressed over sixth form numbers, three high schools were recommended rather than the four suggested in the Interim Report. To achieve this, two secondary modern schools would have to be used as middle schools, and this could be construed as an extravagant use of space. To meet the minimum D.E.S. requirements, the teacher pupil ratio would have to be 1:40 for first schools; 1:35 for middle schools, and 1:30 in the high schools. Since the Authority already had a more favourable teacher pupil ratio in the existing primary and secondary schools, and re-organisation must not bring a reduction in staffing standards, provision above the D.E.S. minimum for a three tier system would increase the recurrent costs of "going comprehensive".

Similarly, Fig.6:2 sets out the possible arrangement of existing schools into a three tier pattern with transfer at nine and thirteen. According to the Assistant Education Officer, "it would not be underestimating the difficulty to say that it might be at least ten years before this scheme could be implemented in suitable buildings". The

Fig. 6.1 Three tier system in Chester Alternative 1: 8-12 Middle Schools

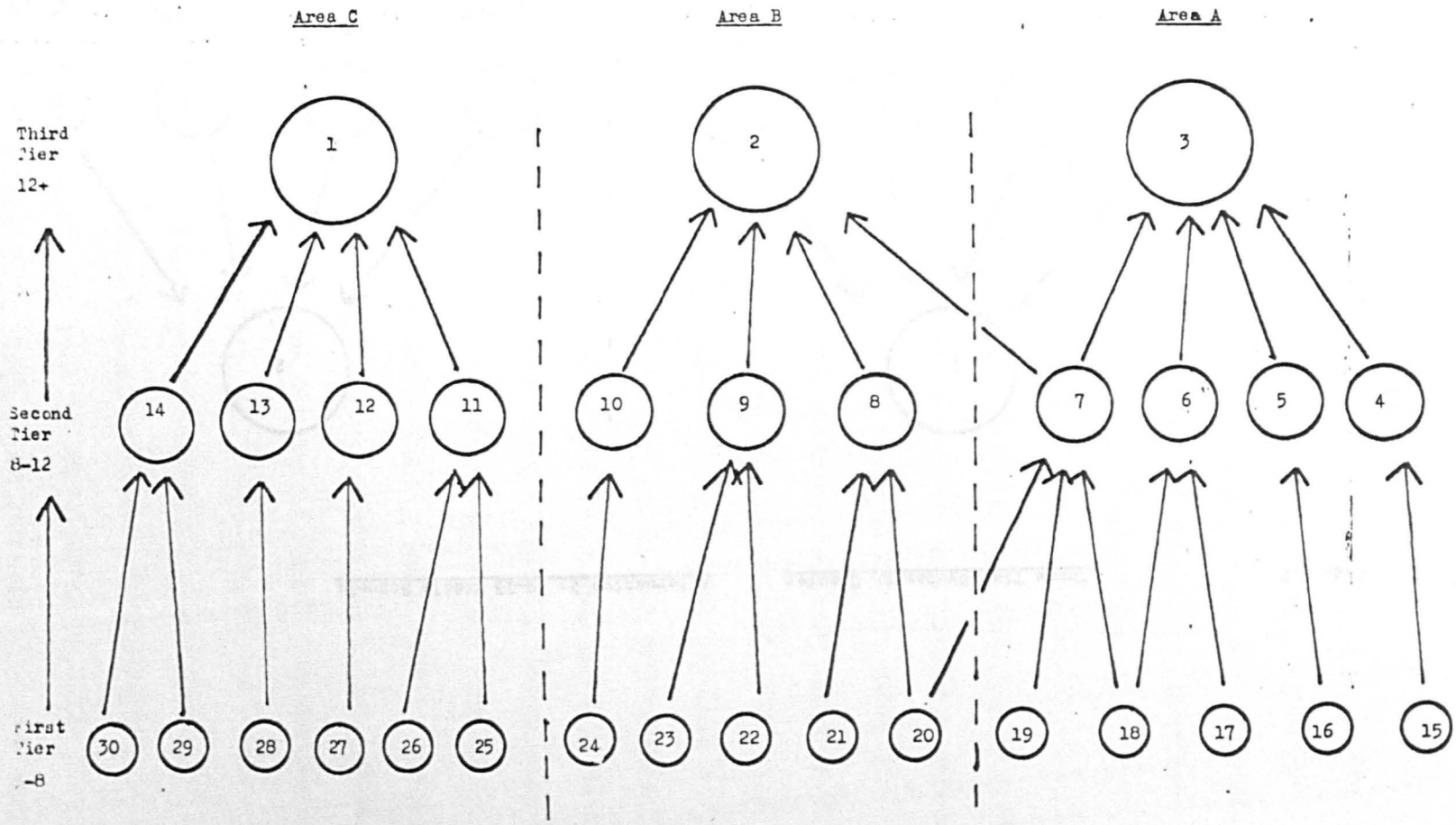
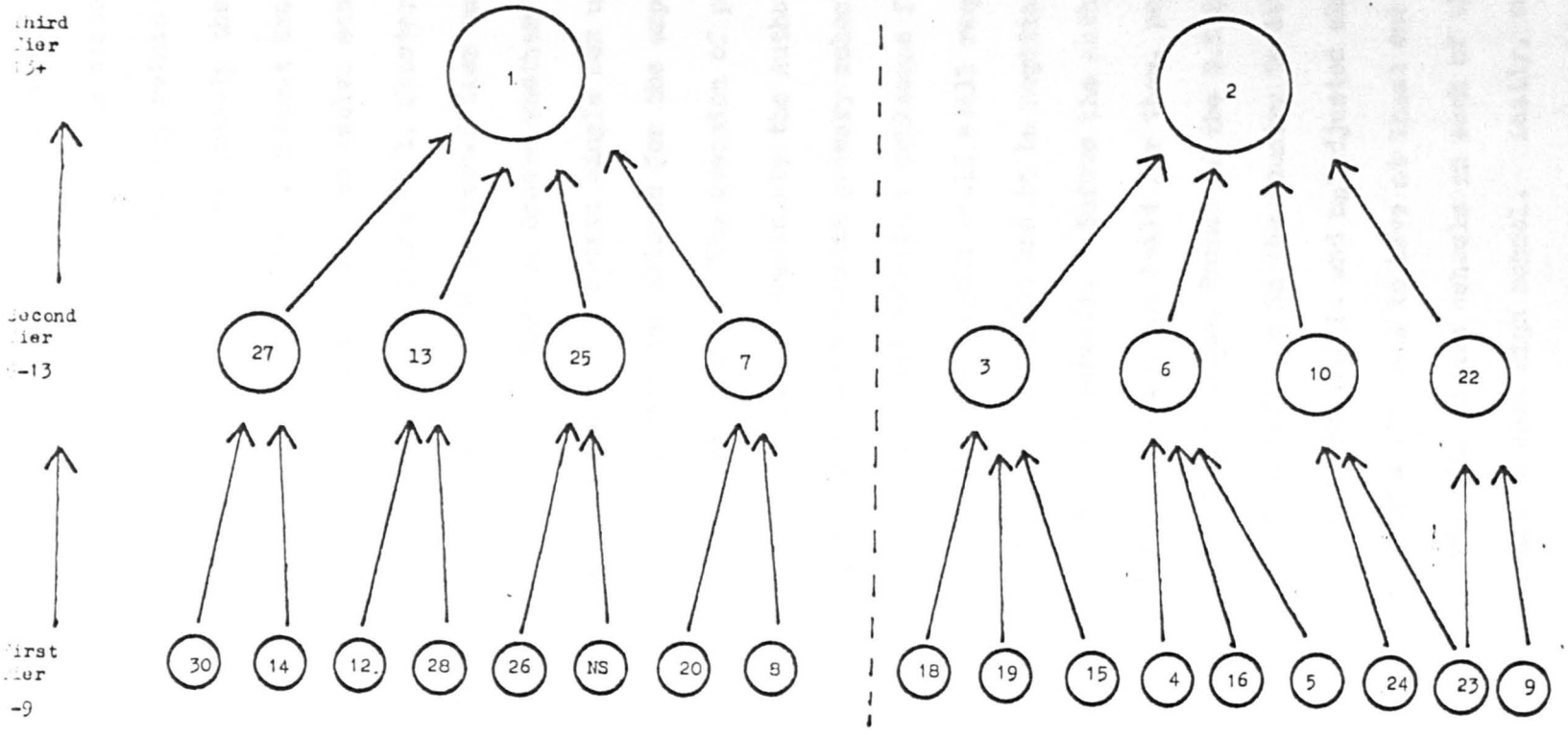


Fig. 6.2 Three Tier System in Chester Alternative 2: 9-13 Middle Schools



attraction of the nine to thirteen scheme lay in the advantages which it afforded in the upper school arrangement, as well as the "creation of a new and challenging kind of middle school". The eight to twelve school, however, would "substantially retain the status and character of existing primary schools, particularly the junior schools", and "this re-organisation could be achieved without drastic change." (Chester Papers). Above all, the eight to twelve scheme was by far the cheapest - about £586,000 (DE/2/33/1, Chester Record Office).

Even when the form of the second tier had been decided, the Education Committee would still have to choose whether to proceed towards completely co-educational schools or retain single sex upper schools. None of the estimates to date had allowed for the expenditure which the move to co-education would incur. The question of parental choice of schools still had to be faced. Previously the Authority had only applied a "zoning" policy to over-crowded primary schools. In the event, this issue was to prove particularly troublesome for the middle schools in Area A. Furthermore, some pupils would still require "special" education. Special education provision had to be negotiated separately from the re-organisation of schools. Before the Authority could develop special educational facilities and build for them, permission had to be obtained from the Special Services Branch of the D.E.S. In fact, Chester was one of the first Authorities in the country to develop special units in primary schools for E.S.N. and maladjusted children. On re-organisation, the Authority's plan was to have at least one E.S.N. and Maladjusted Unit covering the middle schools in each of the three areas, with a Special Unit in each high school. Lastly, and critically, the Authority's attitude to the Direct Grammar Schools would determine how "comprehensive" the scheme would really be.

After further discussion of the merits and disadvantages of the

eight to twelve and nine to thirteen patterns within the Re-organisation Sub-Committee during October, 1967, the Education Committee formally resolved "that the Authority aspire towards a three tier system of education on a co-educational basis with transfer at eight plus and twelve plus with three high schools in ... (Areas A, B and C)" (E.C. Mins., 7th November, 1967). With this definite proposal on the table, two days later the Chief Education Officer briefed all the Head Teachers within the Authority on the current situation. It is interesting to note that in a lengthy confidential memorandum to the City Council, dated 17th November, 1967, which set out all the possible options, the Chief Education Officer explained: "It is not possible to determine costs until a final scheme has been settled." No public reference is ever made to the estimates made by his predecessor in January, 1966. Only the estimate of £586,000 for the eight to twelve scheme is cited. On 22nd November, the City Council formally resolved that a scheme should be submitted to the D.E.S. which gave effect to the Education Committee's decision earlier that month.

Although the outline of the re-organisation scheme was agreed by all interest groups in November, 1967, several specific issues required detailed negotiation. A minority of the Schools Sub-Committee still felt that the outline scheme did not utilise to the best advantage the buildings at the Boys' and Girls' Grammar Schools and at the Parkgate Secondary Modern. The Chester Diocesan Education Committee had not yet agreed upon the future position of St. Michael's Secondary Modern and St. Peter's Junior Aided Schools, and the question of third tier Roman Catholic accommodation remained problematic (Schools Sub-Committee Mins., 1.1.68).

It was with these issues in mind that Mr. Griffiths travelled to Curzon Street on 14th March, 1968, to discuss the finer details of the Chester Scheme with D.E.S. officials. During the initial pleasantries

one of the officials remarked, apparently in private jest, that he trusted that the Chief Education Officer had not brought the Sixth Form College Scheme with him. Such are the ways in which the unofficial observations of the Department are made known before a specific proposal is submitted.

Overall the Department's response to Chester's thinking was "generally favourable". It was St. Michael's which presented the greatest problem because the Governors' first choice was for a twelve to sixteen school, rather than the nine to thirteen or eight to twelve which was apparently on offer. Now with some experience of the Voluntary Bodies and re-organisation proposals, "the Department's officials made it clear that if the Church Authorities were intent on this line of action, the Local Authority would have to concede their right to develop the school in this way" (Chester Papers). There appeared to be two possibilities: (i) St. Michael's could become a twelve to sixteen school, with pupils having the option to transfer to the John Temple School at sixteen plus if they so wished, or (ii) the Church of England School could aspire to twelve to eighteen status. If this second possibility became the case, there could be two six f.e. high schools in Area A, which altogether would give five high schools in the Authority, including one Church of England and one Roman Catholic. In either event, the Governors would be involved in considerable expenditure.

Mr. Griffiths returned to Chester reassured, yet with much to ponder. If the Education Committee decided that the aspirations of St. Michael's Governors were unacceptable, then a complete re-appraisal of the re-organisation proposal would be called for. Several people within the Authority were still attracted to the idea of a Sixth Form College despite the Department's lack of enthusiasm. Some substance was given to this possibility by the local H.M.I.B. who suggested

informally that possibly the Authority could develop a comprehensive system within the existing schools taking children from either eleven or twelve to sixteen. The sixth form provision could be developed in one of the existing grammar schools. As the draft for eight to twelve middle schools stood, St. Michael's still presented problems. The Department officials had expressed "great concern" over the potential serious under use of resources at the School. The Authority was asked to look again at this problem to see if there was any satisfactory alternative. The informal reassurance which Mr. Griffiths had received was that the draft scheme would not be turned down on this issue. (Chester Papers).

Later that month (22nd March, 1968), the Chief Education Officer explained these problems at a special meeting of the Schools Sub-Committee. The Governors of St. Michael's were still of the opinion that the school "should remain a 4 f.e. secondary school for boys and girls (eleven or twelve to sixteen years), capable of being expanded to a 6 f.e. school." The Schools Sub-Committee considered the effect of this on the City Plan as a whole and finally agreed that: (i) No further consideration be given the possibility of establishing a Junior College for pupils age sixteen plus; (ii) only three Local Authority high schools should be provided, i.e. excluding the provision for a Catholic school; (iii) representatives of the Sub-Committee negotiate with the Governors of the Chester Diocesan Education Committee and St. Michael's Governors over the difficulties which their recommendation posed. Finally, (iv) a series of meetings was to be organised starting in late April to explain the re-organisation scheme to parents. (Schools Sub-Committee Mins., 22.3.68).

The hopes of the staff at St. Michael's were raised the following month when the Chief Education Officer wrote to the Head Teacher to state that fifth year courses should be developed at this school and at Hough

Green Secondary. Mr. Griffiths also explained that the Education Committee wanted the School and the College of Further Education to liaise over the continuity between specialist courses appropriate for pupils in these two Schools and the College (Chester Papers). This was the context in which the Chief Education Officer met representatives of the Diocesan Education Committee in mid-June, 1968. At this meeting, the Anglicans reaffirmed their position.

During the spring and early summer of 1968, the L.E.A. embarked concurrently on refining the details of the formal submission to the D.E.S., and explaining the re-organisation plan to parents in a series of public meetings. If St. Michael's did become middle and the nearby St. Peter's Junior, which was also a Church of England Aided School, became a first school, then St. Michael's would expect to receive Anglican pupils from St. Peter's. Alternatively, if St. Peter's also became middle, then this part of the City would require a new first school. At Sealand Road Junior, three form entry was necessary when the school became middle, but the building was small and the site limited. First school accommodation was a problem at Grosvenor Street. Parkgate Secondary shared with St. Michael's the same problem of potential surplus space which would result from the conversion to middle schools.

The question of zoning catchment areas for the three high schools required detailed planning to ensure that each school received a reasonably equitable share of the various social class groups found in the City. It was decided that each high school should have a primary and secondary catchment area. Arrangements would be made for Head Teachers to admit pupils from defined main areas for their schools, and then if accommodation was available in the twelve plus group, pupils could be admitted from the secondary area, subject to such additional admissions representing a cross section of ability. The L.E.A. would retain its Direct

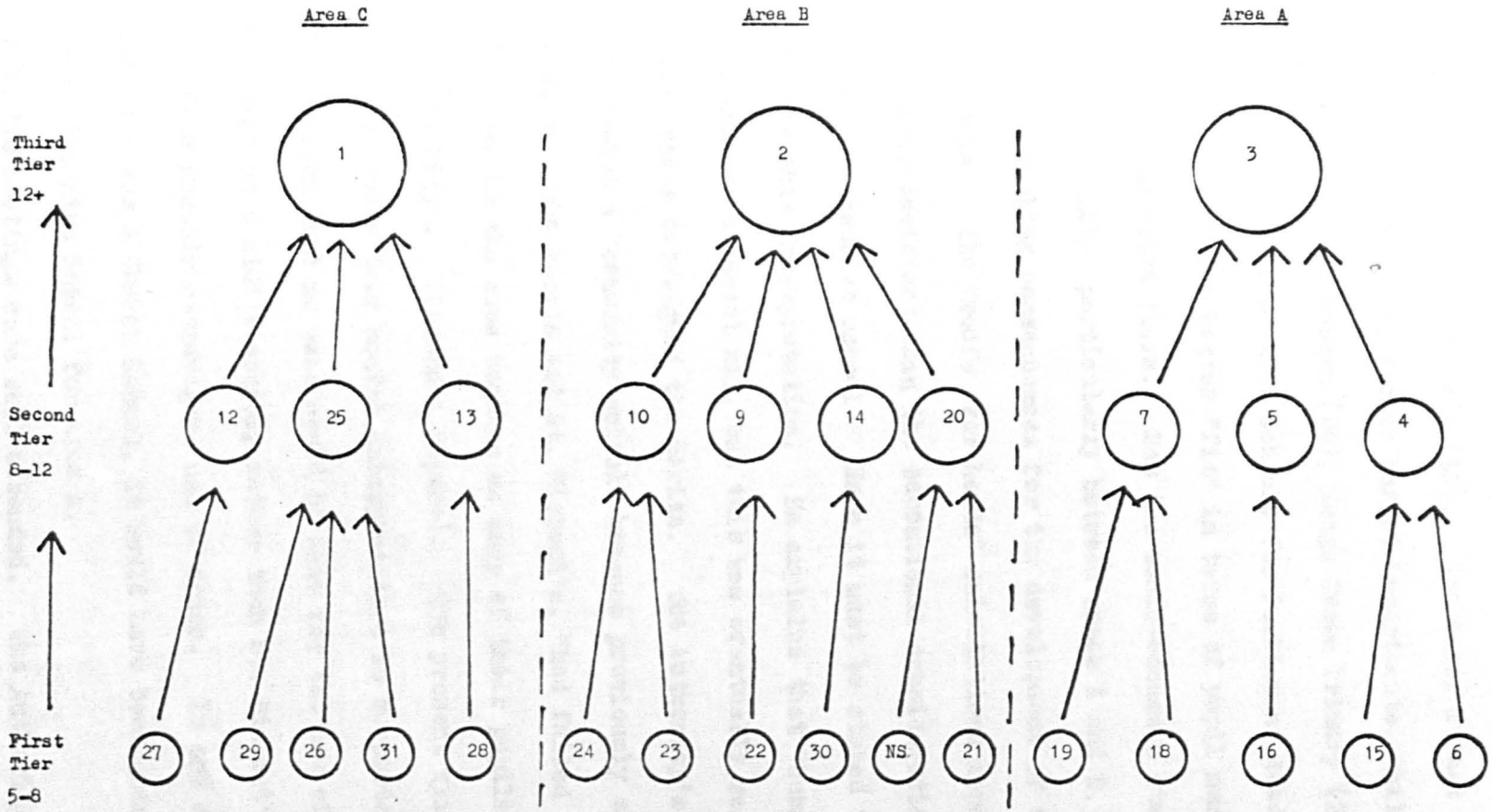
Grant places and approximately 280 county pupils would continue to attend City schools. (Schools Sub-Committee Mins., 24.6.68).

The "Summary of Proposals" published in April, 1968, for the series of public meetings derived from the draft which the Chief Education Officer had taken to London the month previously (see Fig.6:3. This plan differed in several important respects from the first eight to twelve pattern which was considered in detail by the Re-organisation Sub-Committee in September, 1967, (Figs. 6:1 and 6:2). For Area A, the John Temple Secondary School (3) would become Chester High School, and would be "fed" from three middle schools, St. Michael's (7), Clevedon Road (5). and River Lane (4). Since St. Peter's (20) was to become a middle school in another area (B), St. Michael's would now take pupils only from Fred Faizey Infant (19) and Newtown Junior (18), which were to become first schools. Riverside Infant (6) and River Lane Infant (15) would become first schools for River Lane Middle (4).

Zone B covered a wide area of the City. The combined Boys' and Girls' Grammar Schools (2) would take pupils from four middle schools, two South (Parkgate (10), Sandy Lane (9)) and two North (St. Peter's (20), Sealand Road (14)) of the river. The Sandy Lane and Sealand Road Middle Schools would each have one feeder school, while Parkgate and St. Peter's would each have two first schools. For St. Peter's this would necessitate the building of a new first school, to be known as Bouverie First School. These were significant changes. St. Peter's became middle and was re-zoned, while Sealand Road was allocated to Area B rather than Area C as initially suggested.

District C was geographically more compact and fewer changes were necessary, although two different plans for first and second tier provision were under consideration early in 1967. By September the following had been agreed: Hough Green was to be doubled in size and

Fig. 6.3 Proposals for the Reorganisation of Schools in Chester



would receive pupils from three feeder middle schools, Barrow (13), Parliament Road (25) and Grosvenor Street (12). Grosvenor Street and Barrow would take pupils from their former Infant Departments, while three relatively small schools, Woburn (29), Hough Green Primary (26) and St. Luke's (31), would become first schools for Parliament Road (25).

These amendments achieved a better "fit" in terms of pupil numbers between first, second and third tiers. But the socio-economic status of pupils varied considerably, particularly between areas A and B. This was to have far reaching consequences for the development of their respective high schools. The "roofs over heads" calculations appear more important in these decisions than the educational considerations of what "counts" as a comprehensive school. Here it must be stated that Mr. Griffiths rejects this interpretation. He explains that "bussing" was considered to achieve a social mix, but this was eventually rejected because the disadvantages outweighed the merits. The Authority's intention was to develop a "community school" because previously the two secondary moderns, John Temple and St. Michael's, "had failed to become deeply involved in the area because so many of their pupils came from the rest of the City". (Personal Papers). The present writer would reply that the "roofs over heads" interpretation is supported by Mr. Griffiths' admission that no case could be made for the use of the John Temple buildings as a middle school, rather than St. Michael's, because it would be a grossly extravagant use of space. In any event, because St. Michael's was a Church School, it would have been unacceptable to many parents as the High School for Area A.

The eight public meetings were well attended. The Authority received letters from Parents' Associations, educational pressure groups, such as St. Peter's P.T.A. and CASE, and individuals. The issues they

raised, rigidity of zoning policy, the position of children taking examinations in the two secondary schools which were designated to become middle, and the Authority's attitude to the Direct Grant Schools, had all been discussed previously in the various committees. These meetings were exercises in the dissemination of information and not data collecting activities. Changes in policy or detail would not come about from these meetings unless the opponents could demonstrate conclusively that an educational need which was being met under the present system would not be accommodated in the re-organised provision. Significantly, the various interest groups who participated in this debate had no access to resources and information other than that published by the Authority.

Although discussions with the Chester Diocesan Education Committee and the Blue Coat Foundation had not yet resolved the problems presented by St. Michael's, the consultations with the Roman Catholic Authorities had been more fruitful. The Shrewsbury Diocesan Commission were happy in principle "to go comprehensive" on a three tier basis with transfer at eight and twelve plus. The establishment of eight to twelve middle schools incurred minimal expenditure. In Chester, unlike Wallasey, the size and distribution of Catholic primary schools corresponded quite neatly with the Local Authority's intention. By June, 1968, the Roman Catholic Authorities had agreed to recommend to the Education Committee that (i) St. Winifride's Infant and St. Mary's Primary Schools should be first schools; (ii) St. Winifride's Junior and Our Lady of Lourdes Primary Schools should become middle; (iii) St. Paul's Primary School should take pupils aged five to twelve until numbers made separate first and middle schools a practical proposition, and (iv) that St. Chad's Secondary should become the Catholic third tier school. The position of the Dee House Convent School remained under review, pending the outcome of the Public Schools (Donnison) Commission. (S.S.C., Mins., 14.6.68).

With the exception of the status of St. Michael's School, where it will be remembered that the Governors and Staff were not of one mind over re-organisation, the Authority had been able to secure the more or less enthusiastic support of the various interest groups for a specific scheme within two years of the appointment of a new Chief Education Officer. On 24th July, 1968, the City Council resolved that the draft scheme should be adopted and forwarded to the D.E.S. for approval. The formal submission was made on 31st July, 1968.

The Chester submission was at the Department for ten months. Approval was given in a letter dated 5th June, 1969. (DE/2/33 Chester Record Office). The Secretary of State accepted the scheme as providing a satisfactory framework within which "selection and separatism" could be eliminated within the City. As expected attention was drawn to the changed use of the Fred Faizey Primary School and the Parkgate and St. Michael's Secondary Schools, and the Department assumed that the Authority had satisfied itself that this was the most economical way of implementing the scheme at an early date. Most importantly, the acceptance of the draft plan was without prejudice to a mutually satisfactory resolution of the St. Michael's problem. As with the Wallasey scheme, the critical moment could come with the issue of Section 13 notices.

Given the Department's approval for the outline of re-organisation in Chester, the Authority's next task was to translate this decision of principle into administrative action. St. Michael's and the detail of third tier accommodation for the Roman Catholic pupils required immediate attention. A specific and realistic time-table for the change-over had to be agreed. This move from a selective to a comprehensive system, as well as a change in age range of all the Authority's schools,

would create considerable teacher staffing problems. Certainly without the goodwill of the teachers' associations the implementation of the re-organisation proposal would be extremely difficult, if not impossible.

Discussions with the Governors of St. Michael's, the Blue Coat Foundation and the Chester Diocesan Education Committee continued. The Local Authority made it clear that Area A of the City could not sustain two upper schools, and that it was still their firm intention to develop the John Temple buildings as a twelve to eighteen high school. With the Department's acceptance of the Chester proposal, the Governors of St. Michael's withdrew their pressure for a twelve to sixteen high school and accepted that it should become an eight to twelve middle school. (S.S.C. Mins., 3.11.69). The financial implications of any other option were too daunting. At precisely the same time the Chester Diocesan Education Committee had to finance school buildings in Birkenhead to phase in with that Authority's re-organisation proposals. The potential expense of contributing to two schools was beyond Diocesan resources, and it would appear that St. Michael's Governors did not receive the support from the Bishop of Chester for which they were looking. The Birkenhead proposal was approved at the expense of St. Michael's aspirations. (Personal Papers).

It will be remembered that the Department's officials had referred to the potential extravagant use of space if the two secondary modern schools were to become middle. St. Michael's was one of these and Parkgate the other. Parkgate was adjacent to St. Chad's Roman Catholic Secondary School which would require an immediate 1 f.e. extension if it were to become the Roman Catholic third tier school. Informally local H.M.I.B. raised the question of whether the Local Authority would consider exchanging the Parkgate buildings for St. Chad's, with a cash

adjustment. (Personal Papers). The Chief Education Officer recommended this suggestion to the Education Committee for their urgent consideration because he saw that the balance from such a sale could be used to finance alterations at the new Westminster High School and some of the more difficult middle school projects, as well as utilise the teaching spaces in St. Chad's more economically. The Roman Catholic Authorities appreciated the merits of this proposition but were unwilling to commit themselves until the conclusions of the Donnison Commission were known. This would also determine their response to the Dee House Convent School problem. In the event, this exchange was agreed later in December, 1969, and the Authority received a payment from the Catholics of £125,000.

Early in the Autumn Term 1969, the L.E.A. received the details of the major buildings which had been approved for the early 1970's. This information enabled the Authority's administrators to draw up a detailed schedule. Extensions to the Hough Green and John Temple Secondary Schools, and to St. Chad's if necessary, were sanctioned for "starts" in the 1971/1972 building programme. Also 160 additional middle school places were approved in schools south of the river. Together with the ROSLA and minor works allocations, the Authority was able to secure loan sanction for the £586,000 necessary to finance the re-organisation scheme. (Chester Papers).

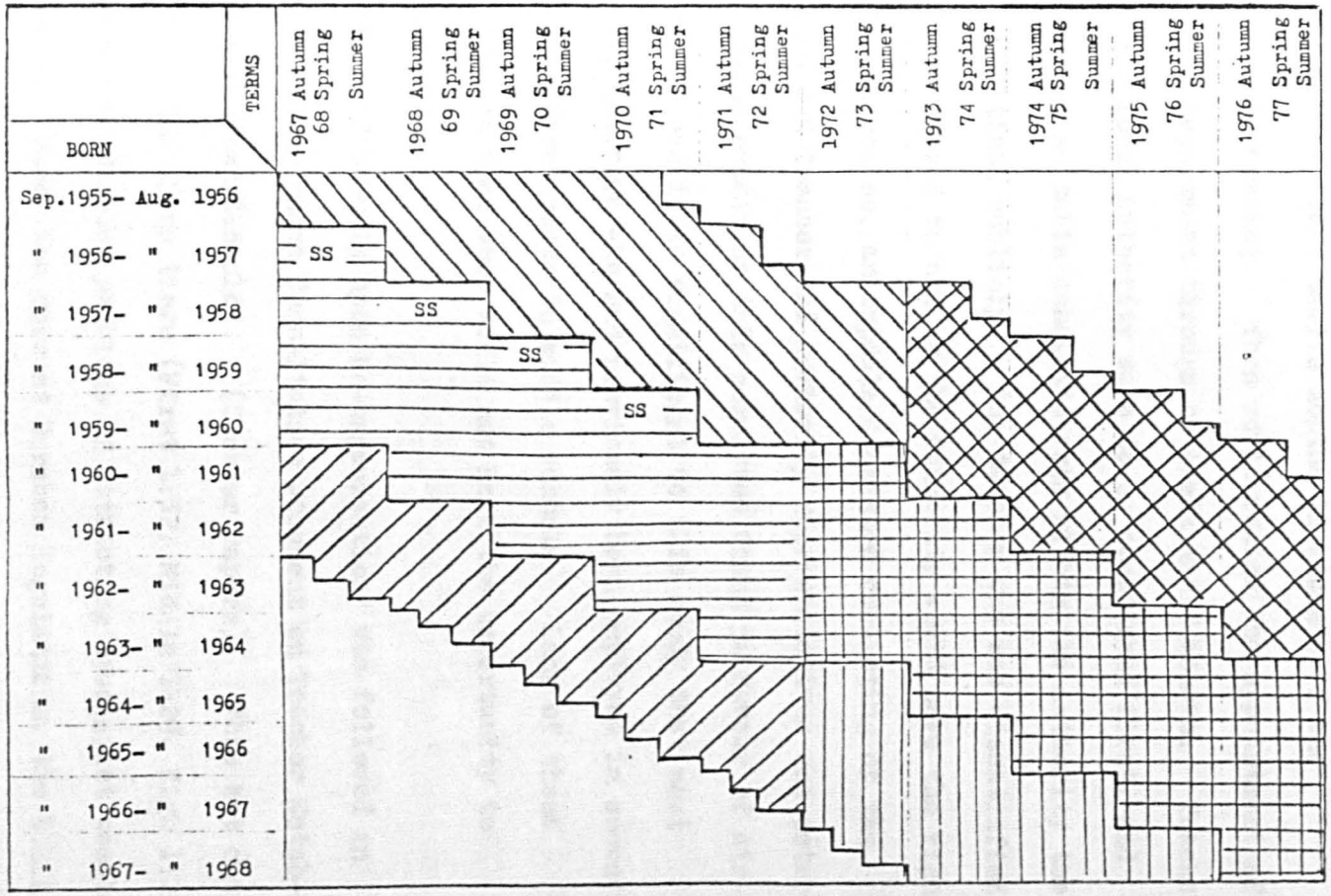
A feasibility study suggested that the high schools should be capable of operation from 1973. If the middle schools were staffed on a 1 : 35 ratio, then an extra sixteen class bases would be needed. Satisfactory first school accommodation could be provided through the re-location of demountable classrooms. Whether four particularly needed first schools could be built or existing buildings modified to meet their new purpose would have to await further building

programmes, but the authors of the feasibility study felt confident that the first and middle schools could be inaugurated in September, 1972. Selection for the eleven plus cohort would occur for the last time in the school year 1970/71. The raising of the school leaving age, which was scheduled to take place in 1972-3, was the critical issue in the Authority's calculations. By September, 1973, all additional accommodation, furniture and equipment needed to be available. On the evidence from the feasibility study, the Schools Sub-Committee were able to recommend that this time-table should be adopted, "subject to revision of these proposed dates, should the building work required fall considerably behind schedule." (S.S.C. Mins., 17.11.69). The details of this transition are given in Fig.6:4 , page 147

Although the Re-organisation of Schools Sub-Committee was initially responsible for drawing up the details of the scheme, the Chief Education Officer felt that it was not the most suitable instrument with which to implement the plan. Mr. Griffiths suggested that the establishment of a small Steering Committee consisting of between five and seven members would be more appropriate for approving the day to day details. Also the staffing of the re-organised schools would in itself present important questions of policy and administration. For this reason, Mr. Griffiths recommended a second small sub-committee, again directly accountable to the Schools Sub-Committee, to be called the Staffing Sub-Committee. These sub-committees were established in November, 1969, and continued in operation throughout 1970 and 1971. Both were chaired by the Chairman of the Education Committee, Councillor Annabella Barnett, until March, 1972, when the Chief Education Officer concluded that these sub-committees were no longer necessary. (Chester Papers).

The first major document considered by the Staffing Sub-Committee was the Chief Education Officer's paper, "The Staffing of Schools

FIG 6.4 REORGANISATION OF CHESTER SCHOOLS: TRANSITION TIME-TABLE



KEY

- Infant
- First
- Junior
- Middle
- Secondary
- High

SS Secondary Selection Procedure

upon Re-organisation", which was circulated in February, 1970. Drawing upon the principles enunciated in Circular 16/69, "The Staffing of Schools", the Chester Authority set out the principles and sequence for teaching appointments. Existing salaries and guarantees of no redundancy had been assured in 1967. Now every teacher was promised an opportunity to discuss his/her position with one of the Authority's senior staff. The Head Teachers of the third tier schools were to be appointed first, and at least twelve months in advance of the re-designated schools opening. Then would follow the appointment of Deputies, Heads of Department through to Assistant Teachers. Teachers currently with the Local Authority were to be considered first, and then if there was no suitable candidate from within the Authority the post would be advertised publicly. Any teacher who was dissatisfied with the position offered to him by the Authority would have the right to appeal. In due course, an Appeals Committee consisting of the former Town Clerk and Teacher and Authority representatives was established. On several occasions this committee found in favour of dissatisfied teachers, and it is significant to this study that most appeals came from teachers who had previously been employed in secondary schools who were offered posts in middle schools. Many of these appellants maintained that they would not have the opportunity to teach their specialism.

"The Staffing of Schools upon Re-organisation" was followed in June, 1970, with an important Consultative Document on 'Teacher Establishment in Re-organised Schools". (Chester Papers). This set out the staffing ratios at the three tiers (First 1:32, Middle 1:29, High 1:21) and dealt with the particular problems of attracting specialist teachers to middle schools. Under the current Burnham Regulations, the L.E.A. was mandated to establish at least one Head of Department, Grade A, in

schools of Group size 6 and above. Mr. Griffiths strongly recommended that the Education Committee use its discretion to appoint one Head of Department in schools of size Group 4 and above in order to attract specialist expertise in the middle school. Chester's middle schools would range from Group 4 to Group 7. On the strength of this recommendation, the Steering Committee proposed that middle schools of Group 5 or smaller should have two Grade A posts, and that those of Group 6 and above should have two Grade A and two Grade B Head of Department allowances. It will be noted that the vocabulary of these discussions was explicitly "secondary" oriented, which is in marked contrast to the references to Plowden which were used to legitimate the adoption of eight to twelve middle schools within the Authority.

The Head Teachers for the third tier schools were designated by September, 1970, and for most of the first and middle schools by February, 1971. In no case was the incumbent Head Teacher not appointed to the re-organised school where he had asked to be considered for that post. Early in 1970 the Catholic and Local Authorities had agreed to exchange the St. Chad's and Parkgate buildings with a cash adjustment in favour of the L.E.A. In this case the Head of the Parkgate Secondary Modern became the first deputy at the new Westminster High School. The Head Teachers of the former junior schools became the Heads of first or middle schools depending on the re-organised status of their schools. The Head Teacher of the former Boys' Grammar School reached retirement age a year before re-organisation was scheduled to take place, and the man appointed to the Headship of the newly designated Westminster High School was the only Head appointed from outside the Authority, and with direct experience of the type of school in which he was to serve. As in Wallasey, initially no teacher in Chester was appointed to middle schools with first hand experience of them. The two schools which

were previously secondary and became middle started with an essentially ex-secondary staff. The case of St. Michael's is considered in detail later in Chapter 10. Those which were previously junior retained that ethos. No teacher who was in a secondary school immediately prior to re-organisation joined the staff of a middle school which previously was junior. Earlier in this Chapter it was noted that several teachers who were "subject specialists" in the former Parkgate Secondary Modern School were offered posts as specialists within middle schools, but they successfully contended that the posts offered to them by the Authority were not "reasonable alternatives". (Chester Papers).

The fine detail of the staffing changes required by re-organisation is beyond the limits and needs of the present chapter. A summary of the number of teachers on the various scales by the type of schools for 1973, when re-organisation was complete, is given in Tabs.6:2 and 6:3 on pages 151 and 152. What is significant for this description is the greater influence which the teacher organisations had on the staffing decisions compared with the negligible say in the form of comprehensive system adopted. The Burnham Report of 1973 gave a slightly more generous staffing ratio to middle schools than previously, but before the allocation of posts described in Tabs.6:2 and 6:3 were recommended to the Education Committee for approval, the Chief Education Officer consulted the Stoke-on-Trent and Southampton Local Education Authorities, both of whom had eight to twelve middle schools similar to Chester. (Chester Papers).

During 1970 the J.C.C. was predominantly concerned with the administrative detail relating to the staffing of re-organised schools. Certainly Mr. Griffiths' involvement with the J.C.C. was much greater than his predecessor anticipated; but it is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise. In this instance, the teachers' organisations

TAB.6:2 TOTAL NUMBERS OF MEN AND WOMEN ON EACH SCALE.

	Head		D.H.		Sur.T.		Sc.5		Sc.4		Sc.3		Sc.2		Sc.1		Total		Both
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
All Female FIRST SCHOOLS.		11		11								1		22		48		93	93
Mixed Staff FIRST SCHOOLS	4	2	4	2							1		1	10	1	25	11	39	50
First & Middle Schools	2			2							1	4		2	1	10	4	18	22
MIDDLE SCHOOLS	9	2	9	2					3		13	7	10	21	14	63	58	95	153
HIGH SCHOOLS	3	1	2	3	8	2	21	1	39	16.7	19	17.7	14	20.5	24.6	39.3	130.6	101.2	231.8
TOTAL	18	16	15	20	8	2	21	1	42	16.7	34	29.7	25	75.5	40.6	185.3	203.6	346.2	549.8

TAB.6:3 MIDDLE SCHOOLS : NUMBER OF MEN AND WOMEN ON EACH SCALE.

	Head		D.H.		Snr.T		Sc.5		Sc.4		Sc.3		Sc.2		Sc.1		TOTAL		BOTH
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
St. Michael's	1		1						3				2	4	1	6	8	9	17
Scotland Road	1		1								1	1			1	5	5	6	11
River Lane	1		1								2	1	1	2		9	5	12	17
Clevedon Road		1	1								2		1	1		6	4	8	12
Sandy Lane	1			1							2		1	3	1	6.5	5	10.5	15.5
Our Lady of Lourdes	1		1									2		1	2	3	4	6	10
Parkgate	1		1								1		1	3	2	8	6	11	17
St. Andrew's	1		1								1	1	1	1	2	6.5	6	8.5	14.5
St. Peter's	1		1								1	1	1	1	2	3	6	5	11
St. Winifrede's		1	1								2		3	1	6	4	4	10	14
Barrow	1			1							1	1	1	2	2	5	5	9	14
TOTAL	9	2	9	2					3		13	7	10	21	14	63	58	95	153

had equal access to what counted as "resources" and they too were able to draw upon the experiences of other local authorities which had already re-organised their schools. In general, all the teacher organisations found the Authority's procedure on staffing "broadly acceptable". (J.C.C. Papers, January, 1970). The main queries related to the timing of re-organisation and when the new governing bodies could accept responsibility for staffing the newly designated schools. Nevertheless, certain members of the J.C.C. were anxious that detailed discussion of proposed establishments should come to the J.C.C. immediately after the Steering Committee and before consideration by the Education and Finance Committes, "then at least we have a stick with which to beat them". (J.C.C. Papers).

This relationship between the J.C.C. and the various sub-committees was one of the issues discussed at a Conference on Re-organisation which the L.E.A. organised for all Chester teachers on 4th July, 1970. The Chief Education Officer reaffirmed his position that he always assumed that consultation on issues of policy would take place through the J.C.C. and that the Re-organisation Steering Committee, which the Authority had set up, would act as a clearing house for those items which needed to be referred to the J.C.C. for consultation. (Chester Papers).

Although the Conference was considered by all parties to have been a valuable occasion for the dissemination of information and the exchange of views, the initial enthusiasm expressed earlier in the year was dampened by concern over "the lack of professional expertise" on the Staffing Sub-Committee and the lack of information relating to the setting up of the new governing bodies. This criticism continued well into 1971. Again Mr. Griffiths considered that the criticism concerning "lack of professional expertise" was unfair. The Staffing Sub-Committee included an elected Council member who was the Deputy

Principal of a College of Education and a former Head Teacher, as well as the Chief Education Officer and the City's Staff Adviser, both of whom were also former Head Teachers. Furthermore, the only posts in which the Heads were not involved, except as candidates, were their own, otherwise they attended all Staff interviews affecting their Schools. (Personal Papers).

The publication by the recently elected Conservative Government of Circular 10/70, which rescinded 10/65, had given brief succour to those who did not like the three tier scheme. Particularly, the Principal of the College of Further Education took up again the question of a Sixth Form College and the A.T.T.I. supported this view. Although the Education Committee asked the Re-organisation Steering Committee to make recommendations for any alternatives to the planned scheme considered appropriate (E.C. Mins., 22.7.70), there was no institutional support for changes to the approved scheme. (J.C.C. Papers). This was not surprising: all the school teachers' organisations and all three political parties on the City Council felt that the three tier plan best met their interests if selection was to be abolished. This decision to end selection after the school year 1970-71, subject to the proviso that the dates would be revised if the building programme fell behind schedule, had been notified to all schools in January, 1970.

Compared with the Wallasey re-organisation scheme, Chester had the advantage of a longer period for implementation, and their problems with the voluntary bodies were more easily resolved. The accommodation problems experienced in Chester, which do not require detailed exposition here, affected individual schools more or less acutely during the transition phase, but at no time threatened the principle of re-organisation or its re-timing. A major benefit of this longer approach period was

that the Authority, through its Advisory Service, was able to institute curriculum development groups for the middle and first schools, in December, 1969, and November, 1970, respectively. Membership of these groups was voluntary and their numbers remained small, but their influence was important. Middle school curriculum groups were established for English, Maths, History and Geography, and Art and Craft. Much of the discussion centred on the Schools Council publications on middle years and middle schools, and on projects which were then current. In addition to identifying common curricular material within the Authority's proposed middle schools, attention was also focussed upon the problems of continuity between schools. An assessment of these curricular planning exercises is beyond the scope of this study, but the comments expressed by pupils on their experience of transfer between middle and high schools do provide an interesting contrast between the pedagogue's theory and the consumer's experience. (See Chapter 9).

The publication of Section 13 notices on 2nd August, 1971, formally marked the end of re-organisation planning in Chester. The extent to which the new schools became "comprehensive" thereafter was primarily a matter for the teachers rather than the politicians or administrators.

THE RE-ORGANISATION OF EDUCATION IN WALLASEY AND CHESTER: A THEORETICAL INTERPRETATION.

The particular descriptions of re-organisation in Wallasey and Chester are located in the specific sociological framework of an exchange model in order to try and explain the similarities and differences between the two sequences. It is hoped that the use of established theoretical concepts will provide tools for analysis which will go beyond straight-forward description. In Chapter 3 it was contended that the justification of theory should be in terms of the contribution which it makes to the organisation of the empirical evidence and the illumination which the theory offers to other contingent data. The contribution which the exchange theory model makes to our understanding of the events in Wallasey and Chester will now be discussed.

The discussion on theoretical considerations illustrated that interactionist theories recently have been used to underpin a series of case studies on life in classrooms. It is maintained here that a modified approach can be applied equally profitably to case studies in educational decision making at the local authority level. This writer's experience of working in the Education Offices of Wallasey and Chester on a casual basis confirmed his view that the notion of group perspectives was as appropriate to the "office" as the classroom. Other studies have shown that individuals' expectations derive from group perspectives. (Smith, 1974). Even a cursory review of the case study data at local authority and school level supports the contention that individuals and groups perceive the situation differently, and that these group perspectives can be related to positions in the social structure.

This theoretical position permits the following questions when the events relating to re-organisation are considered :

(i) Do the occupants of various positions, e.g. Chief Education Officer, Chairman of the Education Committee, Secretary to the

J.C.C. hold specific perceptions ? (Gross et als 1958; Becker, 1961).

(ii) If such specific expectations are held, can they be located readily within wider ideological positions ? (Berger and Luckman, 1966).

(iii) Why do particular definitions of the situation prevail ?

(iv) Is power distributed unequally within the social structure to support different group perspectives ? (Young 1971).

(v) To what extent are the expectations of other sectional interest groups perceived as legitimate by the decision makers ? (Blau, 1964).

(vi) Can we identify the initial positions of those favouring and those opposing change ? (Eisenstadt, 1965).

(vii) How does "bargaining" and "negotiation" modify the expectations and perspectives of the various individuals and groups ? (Blau, 1964; Eisenstadt, 1965).

(viii) To what extent do individuals and groups act against their declared self interests ? (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1961).

(ix) To what extent do public images differ from real interests ?

Before these questions are pursued, it is perhaps worthwhile to comment on the model derived from Swift to which reference is made on page 51 . As predicted, several key personnel negotiated extensions to their roles. Both Chief Education Officers, who by definition are administrators, initiated high level negotiations with political interests outside their respective Local Authorities. It has been shown that by administrative actions Mr. Rowland and Mr. Griffiths were able to cast the re-organisation proposals to their Education Committees in such a way that the Committees' room for manoeuvre was marginal. This is policy making as much as administration. Similarly, both Joint Consultative

Committees were as much concerned with initiating and influencing policy decisions as they were in making professional judgements. Again, the ways in which the two Chairmen of the Education Committees in Wallasey and Chester guided the working of the various sub-Committees reflected considerable political and administrative acumen. Certainly it would be erroneous to attribute a homogeneous view to any particular interest group. Despite these cautions, however, the categories Politicians, Administrators, Teachers and Clients describe clear sectional interest, and the use of these labels facilitates a clearer exposition of the education making process.

First, it is necessary to identify the precise area of change. Although the adoption of comprehensive secondary education might appear to be the central issue, this was predicated upon the related but distinct matter of the abolition of selection at the age of eleven plus. It was this issue which secured the greatest measure of agreement between the various parties. In Wallasey, the first formal request for the abolition of selection came from a Ratepayers' Action Group, which articulated a more right wing Conservative approach in its general policies. Within the Borough Council this move was supported by Liberals and Socialists. The official Conservative group were not staunch supporters of selection. The political context in Chester was similar. Although the resolution to end selection was carried by a Socialist Council, consistent support for this move came from the Liberals who held a balance of power position in 1965, and after some hesitation the Conservatives came down in favour of non-selection at eleven plus. Thus on this specific issue there was little resistance to change from the politicians, and it is not difficult to infer Conservative support for this position. A significant number of children whose parents could fairly be described as middle class failed to gain places at selective schools. Thus on

this issue, the diffuse category of the middle class should not be seen as acting against their interests.

It was the corrolaries of this decision which raised doubts. The inadequacies of selection at eleven plus in themselves did not provide a sufficient justification for "comprehensive" education until sixteen years. Conservative groups on both Councils expressed concern that standards would fall under a non-selective system. In the several discussions, it is significant sociologically that the notion of standards remained taken for granted. Standards were equated with the average number of passes per pupil in external examinations. Even on this restricted criterion, the position that average standards for the whole sixteen year old cohort could rise, even if the average number of passes per pupil for the "top" fifteen per cent or so of that age group were fewer was not considered. Sir Fred Hutty's concern for "specialist emphases" and Councillor Annabella Barnett's thoughts on a "weighted three tier system" illustrate the gap between the commitment to the abolition of selection at eleven plus and the adoption of comprehensive schools. The Conservative approach to the Direct Grant Schools, particularly in Chester, highlights this disjunction even further.

Within the politicians category, commitment to the removal of selection at eleven plus and the establishment of real comprehensive schooling was expressed by local Labour and Liberal politicians. Because the data for the political analysis has been extracted from Council and Sub-Committee papers and minutes, only the agreed position of the respective parties can be quoted. The conflict, argument and negotiation which must have occupied much time in the various caucus groups cannot be identified from the sources available.

Similarly the views attributed to teachers as a sectional interest group are those which were expressed by the various teachers' unions and school staff associations. In the examination of the processes by

which Wallasey and Chester adopted comprehensive schooling, the files contain no letters from teachers as individuals. But from the interview data cited in respect of the case studies of St. Michael's and the Rowland Hutty middle schools, there is no reason to believe that on this issue of re-organisation the local teachers' organisations did not reflect fairly the views of most teachers. The descriptions of re-organisation in Wallasey and Chester show that the Teachers' category embraces a wide spectrum of opinion, and that the initial positions were often modified considerably, even reversed, during the negotiations. Certainly the category teachers contains several group perspectives which were in conflict, and this conflict can be located in a wider ideological context than is provided by detailed descriptions of the local situations. In neither Wallasey nor Chester were teachers as a group, or one segment of those teachers, enthusiastically committed in the first instance to the scheme which was finally adopted with their general acquiescence, if not support. The changes in teachers' opinions which are expressed amply illustrate the exchange process.

In both Authorities the formal discussions between the teachers and administrators were conducted in their respective Joint Consultative Committees. The main teaching unions of the N.U.T., the N.A.S. and the "Joint Four" represented the views of most teachers in Wallasey and Chester. Because most of Chester's junior schools were to become middle, and because the majority of junior school teachers belonged to the N.U.T., this association was much more vocal in the Chester J.C.C. than in Wallasey. For the Wallasey junior schools, which with one exception were to become first schools, the change in identity was apparently less momentous. Chester's and Wallasey's secondary modern schools were scheduled for radical change. In these schools the N.A.S. represented the dominant interest. The change in identity and function was perhaps most marked

for the grammar schools, where the "Joint Four" expressed the views of most teachers. Besides the forum provided in the Joint Consultative Committees, the teachers' associations exerted pressure on the Local Education Authorities by lobbying significant political personnel and by submissions directly to the Department of Education and Science, the Chief Officers and the Education Committees.

It has already been noted that the stimulus for change in educational provision in Wallasey and Chester did not come from the teachers' associations. Now the main task is to ascertain why the teachers were more or less opposed to change, to explore the vocabulary to justify their position and to explain why and how they came to change their position more or less enthusiastically. Although the proposed third tier schools in Wallasey and Chester were quite different, the arguments against change used by the grammar school teachers in the two Authorities were very similar. Their immediate concern was that the re-organised system, if it had to come, would ensure "viable sixth forms". Traditionally the teachers in grammar schools have viewed teaching at post "O" level as their special expertise and main source of status within the profession and the community. It has often been argued (see Davis, 1967, for example) that the standards set by the sixth form, both academic and social, influence the whole "tone" of the school.

When commenting on the proposed provision at the second tier level, this same group of teachers express concern at the potential lack of specialists in the middle schools. At no time, however, do they suggest to the Authorities a policy to provide extra allowances within the middle schools or define what counts as a specialist. This criticism is especially significant in Wallasey where the middle schools were to be staffed almost exclusively by the secondary modern school teachers. Implicit in the whole argument is the equation of specialist with graduate status. The possibility of a specialist year co-ordinator, for example, is not considered.

From a sociological stand point, the structural-functionalist would see entrance to and exit from the sixth form as important stages in the "selection and allocation" process, while many Marxists would see this as the epitome of the congruence between the material and the social relations of production in the process of schooling. Furthermore, although the following reasoning is not articulated in any of the submissions concerning re-organisation, the present writer "knows" from his professional experience that secondary, and particularly grammar school, teachers are concerned about the group size of their schools because from this follows the number and grade of above basic scale posts, and the size of classes for "specialist" courses. Put bluntly sixth form size affects the secondary teachers' potential salary and conditions of work. Because grammar schools are selective in their intake, pupils who manifestly reject the norms of the school can be "failed" and transferred to a secondary modern school on "educational" grounds. This group of teachers possess the virtually unassailable power to define what counts as "failure". In so doing, such teachers are able to maintain order as they see it in the classroom and school. Within the non-selective school, this option is effectively denied to them. Thus it is not surprising that in Chester the "Joint Four" concluded that none of the schemes offered an improvement on the present arrangements, and that in Wallasey there was "unrelieved opposition" from the grammar schools.

A common approach to re-organisation in both Authorities can also be discerned in the non-selective secondary schools. The N.A.S. were the most articulate and influential group in this sector, and of the several teachers' associations they responded to re-organisation proposals

most positively. In Wallasey, the School Masters' Association took the initiative of inviting Stewart Mason to speak on re-organisation[1] and in Chester provided the most detailed appraisal of the Authority's alternative plans. Ideally the N.A.S. preferred an "all through" comprehensive system, but were prepared to seek practicable alternatives in "the real world". This support, though, was not unqualified. There must be "large G.C.E. streams" and adequate resources for the re-organised schools. Again, it is not difficult to infer a convincing explanation for the N.A.S. stance: the introduction of comprehensive high schools would extend their career horizons.[2] The N.U.T. expressed the views of most primary school teachers. Good primary school practice should infuse the first schools and penetrate the middle schools as far as possible. In Chester this was an agreed view, whereas in Wallasey with its interim ten to thirteen middle schools, specialist emphases, again expressed in subject terms, were seen to be much more important. It will be remembered that all Chester's junior schools opted for the eight to twelve middle school, if a three tier model was to be adopted. The views of the other teachers' associations, particularly those representing the Direct Grant and Further Education interests, have been described earlier. Without exception, each organisation articulated a self-interest approach to re-organisation. At the beginning of re-organisation planning in both Authorities, there was a consensus of teacher opinion against change.

(1) The significance of this invitation was described in Chapter 5. It will be remembered that Stewart Mason was the main author of the "Leicestershire Plan". When the initial explorations were being made towards re-organisation in Wallasey, both the L.E.A. and the N.A.S. corresponded with Mr. Mason. It would appear that the School Masters were not aware of the fact. Mason discussed the implications of this with Mr. Rowland, the Director of Education for Wallasey.

(2) The term career in this context is used similarly to that described in Chapter 9. There career is defined as "... the moving perspective in which a person sees his life as a whole, interprets his attitudes, actions and things which happen to him."

Parents as a sectional interest group are not easily categorised. Before re-organisation became a live issue in Wallasey and Chester, the parents' groups took the form of P.T.A.'s and Old Students' Associations of specific schools. In Chester, only the Parents' Association at St. Peter's C. of E. Primary School exerted any real pressure. This they did successfully to ensure that the school became middle rather than first, and to locate the designated middle school in Area B rather than Area A as first scheduled. Not surprisingly, St. Peter's is situated in one of the more desirable areas of the City. Otherwise, not a single letter of objection was received by the L.E.A. from any parent to the re-organisation proposal. Also in Chester, there was a small, but energetic branch of CASE, two of whose members were especially active within the local Liberal Party. During the re-organisation debates, CASE regularly sent observers to the Council and Education Committee meetings. Education was only one interest of the Ratepayers' Association in Wallasey, but here also there were common members of this and the established political parties. When re-organisation became a specific proposal, this gave a definite focus to these groups already in existence, as well as providing the raison d' etre for the Central Committee of Wallasey Catholic Parents' Association.

Although the Teachers, Parents and Political interest groups can justifiably be presented separately in a schematic description of educational change (See Fig.7.1 below), the interdependence between the various groups is considerable, and this interdependence is significant to the decision making process.

Fig. 7. 1. Sectional Interest Groups and Re-organisation.

	Groups in Favour.	Neutral.	Groups in Opposition.
Wallasey	Ratepayers. A.U.E.W. Labour. Liberal.	Conservative. Parents.	Teachers' Associations. R.C. Authorities.
Chester	CASE. Labour. Liberal.	Conservative. Parents. R.C.Authorities.	Teachers' Associations. Anglican Authorities.

It would be a mistake to assume that teachers are "political" only through their union or possible political party membership. While teachers cannot seek election to the Councils which employ them, they can be active politically in other localities. This was the position with the Chairman of Wallasey's First Tier Panel. Similarly, the Chairman of the Chester branch of CASE was a parliamentary candidate and a college lecturer. And certainly, teachers can be members of Diocesan Committees, which pursued an overt political function in both Wallasey and Chester.

Practical application of the typology shows that none of the categories are discrete in an operational sense. Probably the classification of the Voluntary Bodies presents the greatest difficulty. Certain individuals who were respectively members of the Shrewsbury Diocesan Commission and the Chester Diocesan Education Committee fulfilled a clear political role in that they were negotiating a policy for their schools with the Local Authorities and the Department of Education and Science. Other members could genuinely be seen as Administrators who, although not directly in the employment of the Voluntary Bodies, assessed evidence appropriate to the various options which had been tabled by their own colleagues and other interest groups. As an official interest group, both the Chester Diocesan Education Committee and the Shrewsbury Diocesan Commission were manifestly resource holders of school buildings, equipment and expertise.

As resource holders, the Voluntary Bodies are in a reciprocal relationship with the Local Authorities; they both draw on and contribute towards the educational provision in the area. Proposals to re-organise educational provision inevitably disturb the balance previously reached by the Local Authority and Voluntary Bodies. When the Local Authority and the Voluntary Body do not concur on the need for, and the direction of, change, then either the conflicting tensions hold the status quo, or

one party concedes more or less extensively until a new compromise position is reached. Obviously the Local Authority is the dominant partner, but the instances of St. Michael's and St. Mary's illustrate clearly that Local Authority cannot impose its wishes unilaterally on the Voluntary Body. The different responses shown by the Local Authorities and the Voluntary Bodies towards re-organisation help to clarify what counts as resources. Buildings, equipment, finance and expertise are obvious examples, but the Department's view showed also that the Voluntary Bodies' traditional share whereby Catholic and Anglican pupils have had a right to attend wholly maintained schools if their parents so wish, is a form of capital which cannot readily be confiscated.

Section 7 of the 1944 Education Act laid the responsibility for educational provision upon the Local Authorities. Thus any changes in the provision of schooling must be achieved through the processes of local government. Additionally, and most importantly, the proposed changes must be sanctioned by the D.E.S. Without the approval of central government, the Local Authority cannot secure the loans necessary to implement the changes it desires. Sometimes the need for change is identified locally, and sometimes it is imposed by central government. Both Wallasey and Chester began their plans to establish non-selective secondary schooling before the central government directive contained in Circular 10/65, but it will be recalled that Chester's thinking was much more constrained by it.

Technically the D.E.S. is an administrative body whose function is to implement the educational policies of the political party in government. But the analysis of the emergence of middle schools nationwide and the descriptions of re-organisation in Wallasey and Chester illustrate that the Department creates a climate in which Local Educational Authorities formulate policy. By citing precedent and informal observations, the

Department plays a policy making role. To the Local Authorities and the Voluntary Bodies and the schools, the D.E.S. is also the major holder of resources, and in most instances it is able to impose its definition of the situation on other sectional interests.

Who shall be taught what, where and when are explicit political questions. Hence it is to be expected that the proposals for changes in the pattern of schooling should emerge from local "political" groups. In Wallasey and Chester, respectively, the Ratepayers' Association, with the support from the local branch of the A.U.E.W. at the other end of the political spectrum, and the local Labour Party were the initiators of change. It has been suggested that the status quo will be disturbed when the groups which favour change persuade the resource holders to release sufficient means to facilitate the desired change. Those opposed to change will still contend the issue, but more or less successfully. Each sectional interest group formulates evidence in its own terms, but for that evidence to be valuable in the negotiation process, other groups must see it as legitimate. Hence it should be emphasised that the Chief Education Officer for Chester initially favoured middle schools for the nine to thirteen age group on educational grounds, but his assessment of the available buildings and discussions with the Department's officials convinced him that the eight to twelve middle school was the only practicable solution, if the Department would not accept a sixth form college. These arguments were essentially economic. Certainly Mr. Griffiths acknowledges that he was presented with no educational evidence which convinced him that eight to twelve middle schools were preferable. (Personal Papers). Once the Re-organisation Sub-Committee had accepted a three tier system with transfer at eight and twelve, this pattern was justified by all the Authority's officials to the wider public in terms of its consistency with the recommendations of the Plowden Committee.

All the available evidence suggests that "roofs over heads" was the key issue in the negotiations between the Department and the Local Authorities, given that both wanted non-selective schooling in principle. To secure D.E.S. approval for their proposed schemes, the L.E.A.'s had to satisfy the Department that re-organisation could be achieved within existing cost and M.T.A. limits. It is significant that once approval had been granted in principle, the Chairmen of both L.E.A.'s proclaimed to their respective publics that the Secretary of State "must will the means" for re-organisation to be implemented. By then, 1968, non-selective secondary education was declared government policy.

The negotiations over third tier accommodation for Catholic boys in Wallasey certainly show that the Catholic Authorities appreciated the currency of exchange. The Department had made it clear to the L.E.A. that the provision available to the Roman Catholics after the proposed re-organisation must not be inferior to the existing situation. By 1967 the L.E.A. was fully committed to re-organisation, but the full extent of the Catholic problem was not publicly acknowledged. At that time the Catholics were neither ready for, nor could they afford to build, a third tier boys' school to meet the accommodation needs if re-organisation was to begin in 1968. Furthermore, the Department made it plain to both the Local Authority and the Voluntary Body that building approval could not be guaranteed for a specific year. The sectional interests were clearly defined: the Local Authority wanted re-organisation and the Catholics would consent only if they could secure the additional accommodation at minimum cost. This could be provided by the L.E.A. in the short term by allowing Catholic boys to attend county third tier schools - a strategy which the Local Authority had previously discounted, as well as providing other accommodation at a peppercorn rent. When this accommodation was requested by Mgr. Reese in April 1968, the Authority had no option but

to concede. The price which the Chief Education Officer and his staff paid was the re-kindled opposition of the Head Teachers and staff of the third tier schools.

The data on re-organisation described in this study are made more coherent when presented in terms of Eisenstadt's process of institutionalisation (Chapter 3, pp. 45 to 53). The context of re-organisation is provided by the general consensus concerning the deficiencies of selection at eleven plus. The different interest groups and their initial positions have been identified and located in their wider ideological context. The media of exchange are illustrated in the ways in which the various interest groups bargain and negotiate. Although the Department stated that it could not advise a Local Authority until a specific scheme had been received, the events in Wallasey and Chester show that informal consultations were a continuous feature of the decision making process. As Mr. Griffiths put it: "I lived in the pocket of the Department."

Finally, it is necessary to comment on Eisenstadt's "channels of exchange." Her Majesty's Inspectors are the "eyes and ears" of the Department. They report to their seniors in London and the regions on local plans and problems. In turn, H.M.I.'s report to senior officers in the Local Authority the views of officials within the several branches of the D.E.S. Local Authority Chief Officers also have direct access to senior officials within the Department, although the extent to which this is used varies considerably. Mr Griffiths' predecessor, for example, had never been to Curzon Street. Hierarchies within the Department and the Inspectorate are formal.

The 1944 Education Act required all Local Councils to establish Education Committees. Most Education Committees divide their work between three sub-committees: Schools, Further Education and Administration. The re-organisation of education was the responsibility of the Schools Sub-Committee. Both Wallasey and Chester set up Re-organisation Sub-Committees

which reported to the parent Schools Sub-committee. Teachers were represented on these Re-organisation Sub-committees as employees, while their associations were represented on the Joint Consultative Committee which is a permanent negotiating committee. Technically, parents' interests are expressed by elected councillors, but local pressure groups such as the Central Committee of the Wallasey Catholic Parents' Association and CASE had no formal representation on any committee. For such groups, access to information depended on the goodwill of the L.E.A. and what they could glean as observers at public committee meetings.

The processes by which significant information is made differentially available to the various sectional interest groups is central to this study. Those interest groups which are able to define what counts as significant resources, also control to a considerable extent the distribution of information and impose their definition of the situation on others (Young, 1971). It is notable that both Chief Education Officers in Wallasey and Chester played down, and even denied, the importance of financial considerations. Estimates were made for the possible alternatives, but the costings for the schemes which the Chief Officers favoured were only considered by the Re-organisation Committees. Mr. Griffiths justified this by saying that the calculations made by his predecessor in 1966 had too wide a margin of error (Personal Papers). Although Mr. Rowland and Mr. Griffiths both stressed that their responsibility was to carry out the policy of their respective councils, each was committed to non-selective secondary schooling. When the Conservatives in both Authorities were uncertain as to whether to proceed they encouraged their Chairmen of the Education Committees to seek the opinions of national figures whom they knew were predisposed to non-selective schooling.

Before either scheme had been accepted by Re-organisation, Education or Joint Consultative Committees, the Chief Officers and local H.M.I.'s

had established a large measure of common ground. Those involved in the confidential discussions between the L.E.A. and the Department were soon aware that the critical resources were costs and buildings. In Wallasey particularly, the announcement of an agreed position further angered the teachers who complained bitterly that they had not been consulted. Again it is significant that teachers' working parties were established to formulate arrangements for implementing proposals. The teachers' associations in both Authorities shifted their ground and accepted the proposed schemes because they had no resources with which to bargain with their employers on this issue. When the staff were being re-deployed they were able to bargain for comparable posts. In this instance the teachers possessed significant resources: undertakings from the L.E.A. which had been negotiated by their associations, knowledge acquired from colleagues in other Authorities where re-organisation had already occurred and their own specialist expertise.

The theoretical framework formulated in Chapter 3 was presented as an aid to understanding the decision making process rather than a precise description of it. Operationally, this framework facilitated the drafting of the nine questions listed at the beginning of this chapter and it is hoped that these questions do help to organise and illuminate the disparate data collected during this enquiry. The written and oral comments of the two Chief Education Officers show that both held common perceptions of their roles and that, in Goffman's vocabulary, they each presented a similar front to their respective publics. This was to be expected both at a common sense level and from the theoretical considerations relating to the socialisation of individuals within specific social structures (Gross et al., 1958). It is socially significant that both men extended their roles by using similar strategies. This occurred because they held similar views concerning the abolition of selective schooling; their previous experience

as teachers and administrators had given them invaluable insight into the perspectives and resources of these sectional interest groups, and intuitively both were "political" men. They advised their respective Chairmen of Education Committees with considerable adeptness and recognised that while these Conservative controlled Committees would support the abolition of selection in the maintained schools, they would not accept voluntarily the dismantling of the Direct Grant connection. These two officers were well aware of the wider ideological positions of the interest groups with whom they had to negotiate.

The positions adopted by the teachers' associations and political parties in Wallasey and Chester are consistent with those taken up nationally. The review of literature has shown that in the late nineteen sixties, the aims, objectives and appropriateness of middle schools were discussed widely. In this light, it is perhaps surprising that none of the teachers' unions expressed an official policy towards such developments. A moment's reflection will show that this ad hoc response by the teachers' associations mirrored the policy of approval practised by the Department of Education and Science.

M.F.D. Young's thesis relating to the differential access to knowledge and the power of certain groups to impose their definition of the situation on others is amply supported by the data in this study. At Local Education Authority policy making level, the communication between the Department and the Chief Officers is vital, although technically one group of administrators is corresponding with another. Three illustrations should suffice to establish the point. When advising their respective Committees both Mr. Rowland and Mr. Griffiths often prefaced their comments with the introduction, "In the Department's view". Mr. Rowland used this strategy to reject Sir Fred Hutty's scheme for "special emphases" in the third tier schools, while Mr. Griffiths' comments on the proposed use of

the Parkgate and St. Michael's buildings were presented similarly. And when Mr. Rowland felt the Department's real views might give succour to the dissident elements on the Education Committee, he paraphrased the private correspondence when reporting to the Committee; the content of the letter dated 26th march, 1968, is a good example. This same thesis could be illustrated equally well at a different level by reference to the way teachers challenged Local Authority decisions on the issue of "reasonable alternatives" offered to redeployed staff.

Following Eisenstadt's analysis, it has been possible to identify and analyse the positions of those opposing and favouring change, and focus upon how bargaining and negotiation modifies the expectations of the several groups and actors. Blau's point about the ways in which the different interest groups perceive as legitimate the expectations of others comes across vividly when the negotiations between the Department, the Local Education Authorities and the Voluntary Bodies are considered. These considerations bring to the fore the extent to which public images represent real interests. The present writer has made much play over the competing claims of the educational rhetoric and the economic reality, yet he has tried to document where others challenge his interpretation. While it is possible that each has become enmeshed in his own rhetoric, now more evidence is available for others to interpret. The picture would become clearer if information relating to the number of middle school schemes submitted to the Department and which are rejected were available. The writer does know that one L.E.A. was proposing to submit an extensive nine to thirteen scheme to the Department because the Authority expected that it would be rejected on financial grounds. This Authority, of course, was trying to forestall comprehensive re-organisation.

Lastly, it appears that in Wallasey and Chester, individuals and groups rarely act against their declared self interest, while the consideration

of whether middle schools are effectively integrated into the institutional framework of comprehensive secondary education is deferred until the final chapter.

Some Considerations Concerning Attainment and Attendance in the Middle Years of Schooling.

Whether or not "schools make a difference" has for some considerable time been a contentious issue within the sociology of education. Such contention derives in part from equivocal research findings (e.g. Coleman 1966, Bowles and Gintis 1976) and from the sociologists who dispute the methodology necessary to formulate the structure of the enquiry and the kind of data which is legitimate to sustain it.

Within the British tradition the main approach to the study of school effects has utilised correlational studies and adopted the popularly named "black box" paradigm. Essentially research workers have concentrated on inputs and outputs to and from the schools in question and then correlated the interdependence between the two sets of factors. Typically in educational studies inputs or independent variables take the form of age, sex, socio-economic status and a measure or measures of cognitive ability etc., while the output, criterion or dependent variable may be a measure of pupil attainment, ambition or attitude. Each of these factors is perceived as an objective referent to a pupil characteristic which in "real life" is more or less subjective. Without doubt, many studies using this format have been used to describe the scene of British schools and to influence local and central government in the direction of innovation and reform. Few would question the assumption that large scale surveys may be appropriate for identifying gross differences between schools, but to-day many do challenge whether such a procedure adequately explains, particularly from a sociological stance, the social processes within the school. Because the school is seen as a "black box" we simply do not know what actually goes on within the schools or classrooms under scrutiny. How, for example, does the pupil-teacher ratio or the specified minimum teaching area which are often considered as typical independent variables actually influence the classroom interaction or the level of pupil performance ? Socio-

logically this remains speculative and perhaps the more the statistical sophistication, the further removed does the researcher become from the "real" educational world.

The current orthodoxy among a growing fraternity of sociologists is that the processes denoted by these factors (social class, ethnicity, teacher attitudes vis-a-vis attainment, ambition etc.) must be located in the interaction among participants in educational environments, but to many this is not a new insight. Sociologists of Education have long used conventional field studies to investigate problems which focus on the internal life in classrooms, for example, and which is less amenable to correlational designs. Perhaps P.W. Jackson's "Life in Classrooms" is one of the most well known studies of this kind.

The different theoretical assumptions with their methodological consequences are not insignificant. That Jencks (1973) and Bowles and Gintis (1976), for example, should come to very different conclusions concerning the relationships between schooling and inequality when they have drawn on similar data cannot be dismissed lightly. Politicians, educational administrators and teachers have to make decisions on a day to day basis and cannot wait while researchers and theoreticians debate the merits of alternative paradigms. Millions of pounds have been spent on "compensatory" programmes, and within the focus of this study about sixteen hundred middle schools have come into existence since 1969 and no less than six thousand children have been "processed" through them while this theoretical debate has continued.

Equally pertinently the various interest groups have drawn upon the ideologies and rhetoric which has been generated within the sociological community. Some parents, teachers and administrators do believe that measures of attainment are "hard" data; and that they believe this to be the case is socially significant. Conversely others within the

same categories believe that "There is no correct and unique distribution which exists independently of its means of production. All such statistics are the product of a determination process of production governed by a determinate system of concepts", (Pahl, 1975).

In the present writer's view the contemporary rejection of attempts to appraise standards is no more ideologically neutral than those who maintain that "standards" are falling by reference to particular and selective criteria. A complete disregard for quantitative data can lead to an "in depth" investigation using constitutive ethnographic and similar techniques of educational trivia. Few teachers would regard the conclusion of Mehan, who is a persuasive advocate of constitutive ethnography, that "looked at from beginning to end, classroom lessons are alternations of verbal and non-verbal behaviour between teachers and students" (Mehan, 1978) as illuminating to the social processes within classrooms.

The previous review of literature has highlighted the assertion by many advocates of middle schools that twelve and thirteen year old pupils who are in the "top year" of their respective middle schools will develop cognitively and socially more fully than if they were placed in the first and second years respectively of a conventional eleven to sixteen or eighteen high school. Since the expression of this view in the late sixties and early seventies, the national pattern of middle school provision has varied considerably (Chapter 4 refers), but to the writer's knowledge no public evidence either to substantiate the views of middle school protagonists or to explain the changing pattern of middle schools nationwide has been offered. Thus whilst accepting the thrust of the interactionist critique concerning the essence of social processes, the writer has set out to ascertain whether crude differences do exist between "matched" pupils

in four different types of school taking pupils for some of the years between eight and thirteen.

This empirical component to the study does not set out to establish a classical experiment to assess school effects based upon a stratified sample of schools and pupils, and then to manipulate sequentially specified independent variables and to ascertain the variation in several criterion measures. Rather it sets out to ascertain whether there are apparent differences in pupil achievement in either types of middle school. If this seems to be the case, then a sociological description of two different kinds of middle school will be attempted. The limitations imposed on a one person research project are self evident; constraints of time and resources are critical. Additionally access to schools was granted on condition that all classes of appropriate ages were tested because of the operational difficulties in extracting several individual pupils from a variety of lessons at a given time. As a result it was impracticable to constitute a random sample of schools and pupils. This, however, had the compensation of making a virtue out of necessity; if a case study approach was to be adopted in due course, it would be necessary to "get to know" staff and pupils at a professionally intimate level.

From a general knowledge of the middle school literature and particularly from the working papers associated with the local authorities whose re-organisation schemes have been considered, the following exploratory hypotheses were formulated :

(i) When pupils are matched for age, sex, socio-economic status and IQ, there will be no statistically significant difference in average reading scores between pupils from different types of school.

(ii) When pupils are matched for age, sex, socio-economic

status and IQ, there will be no statistically significant difference in average rates of absence between pupils from different types of school.

Reading scores and absence rates were chosen as single illustrative indices of attainment and commitment to schooling, respectively. No suggestion is implied that these are full or adequate descriptions, but they are relevant categories which are "meaningful" and "do matter" to all personnel associated with the process of schooling. While it can be argued convincingly that all educational categories are social constructs, the notion of reading ability as reflected in a standardised reading score is perhaps less contentious and certainly less syllabus specific than other criteria which can be used to measure school attainment. Since the school catchment areas had similar characteristics in common, it was assumed that whatever factors external to the school "cause" pupil absence, then they would affect the sample schools equally. Again it is necessary to stress that if the intention had been to conduct a classic multi-variate analysis of pupil attainment and commitment to school much more representative criterion variables would have had to be used.

The major focus of this study has concerned the adoption of middle schools in the former Chester City and Wallasey L.E.A's. Although these were absorbed into the new Cheshire and Wirral Authorities upon local government re-organisation, the middle school systems remain in conjunction with the other comprehensive patterns created by the former Cheshire and Birkenhead Authorities. How long these asymmetrical patterns will persist is a matter of conjecture, but "unscrambling" feasibility studies have been made. Certainly in neither Authority has any empirical "educational" evidence been assembled.

Because of the stringent constraints imposed on testing in a sample of schools it was decided to use one school as representative of each type.

Chester's middle schools cater for the age range eight to twelve years, while the former Wallasey schools still have pupils aged ten to 13 years. It will be recalled that the Wallasey submission promised the eventual adoption of a nine to thirteen pattern. As controls for the nine, ten, eleven, twelve and thirteen year old pupils in the different types of middle school, a large primary and the first two years of an "all through" High School were included in the sample. In total 1,129 pupils were included in the final analysis of the four schools and there is no evidence to suggest that these pupils were not representative of the pupils used to standardise the intelligence and reading test employed in the survey.

The design of the preliminary stage is explicitly correlational, and calls for the identification and quantification of the independent and criterion variables. Age and sex are key identities and present no experimental problems. In this analysis pupil ages are recorded in whole years because the status of months was accounted for in the calculation of IQ and reading standardised scores. For computational purposes school type was simply coded (1) - (4). An identifier code was included to ascertain whether there was any within school variation in IQ and reading score between "forms" because the Headteachers of each of the sample schools stated that all forms were truly "mixed ability". Local authority officials were interested to know whether pupil absence varied significantly by address, and so each "street" in the school's catchment area was coded. Sociographic research has shown a consistent association between social class, however defined, and educational performance. (Douglas 1964, Wiseman 1964, Eggleston 1967, for example refers). Over and above the contentious nature of social class, this matching independent variable presents additional problems when collating data on individual pupils. Many schools for a variety of reasons do not record formally information on parental occupation, and some Headteachers are understandably

disinclined to allow researchers to ask pupils questions about their parents' occupation, irrespective of the experimental value of pupil responses. Despite these conceptual and operational difficulties it is fair to assume whatever association between socio-economic status and attainment has been found in other sociographic studies, this will persist in Cheshire and Wirral. No requests were made to Headteachers for information concerning the pupil's socio-economic status; rather a very approximate index was inferred from the pupil's address.

Because of these operational and conceptual difficulties it was decided to accept the crude assumption that all pupils living in the same street should be accorded the same residential status. Of course this is an oversimplification and is necessarily a source of error, but it is assumed that the proportion of misclassification in the procedure will be the same for each school catchment area.

The procedure for assigning a residential label to each street was as follows. First, all streets in the school catchment area were identified on a 6" street map and then located on an Enumeration District (E.D.) map used for electoral purposes. Both Cheshire and Wirral Local Authorities provided this researcher with Small Area Statistics data which had been collected in the 1971 census. Pupils who lived in streets which came into being after 1971 had to be omitted from the full analysis, although their scores were used when calculating the mean IQ, reading scores and absence rates for the individual schools.

The computer print out of S.A.S. data supplied the following information for each E.D. : the number of economically active persons who were classified as Head of Household by socio-economic grouping, together with the percentage of owner-occupied, rented Council, rented furnished and unfurnished property, and the level of educational qualification possessed by residents in that E.D. When E.D.'s were ranked

in terms of each of these criteria a high correlation was found, so it was decided to use the relative proportions of economically active persons within the seventeen occupational categories as the criterion to classify each E.D. on a scale (1) - (4), where (1) describes predominantly upper non-manual, (2) predominantly lower non-manual, (3) predominantly upper manual, and (4) predominantly lower manual occupational activity. Each street within the E.D. is deemed to have the residential status of that E.D.

The use of this classification procedure is illustrated briefly in the following examples. In ED B01, there are four upper non-manual, three lower non-manual, two upper manual and three lower manual economically active persons. As the total of non-manual is greater than that for manual, the classification is judged initially to be either (1) or (2), and since there are more upper than lower non-manual workers, the final residential status for that E.D. is considered to be (1). Similarly in B09 the numbers are (1) 4, (2) 3, (3) 9 and (4) 8 respectively. Because there are more manual than non-manual workers in this E.D. the classification is (3) or (4), and because there are slightly more upper manual than lower manual workers in this E.D., B09 is coded (3) and the addresses Delamere Street, Moss Bank, Moss Lane and Tatton Close which are in this E.D. all take this residential status. It is essential to emphasise once again that the notion of an enumeration district is atheoretical from a sociological stance, and that the intention here is to provide a very approximate descriptive survey of school catchment areas which is a preliminary to a possible sociological analysis of certain schools.

The difficulties which accrue to the identification and quantification of an index of social class recur when trying to measure "cognitive ability" of any kind, and particularly with reference to IQ. Of all educators' categories this is perhaps the most contentious, particularly

from a sociological perspective. Squibb (1973) and Swift (1973) have warned of the conceptual dangers when comparing IQ and social class particularly, while Bowles and Gintis emphasise the significance of IQ in the social structure of the U.S.A. (1976). One of the two local authorities in this survey deems a measure of pupils' IQ to be desirable when constructing pupil profiles; the other does not. Even within the "psychometric community" there is contention about the relative merits of particular intelligence tests. The present writer shares the view of a senior educational psychologist within one of the Authorities that Cattell's Culture Fair Test offers one of the most acceptable measures of non-verbal cognitive ability, given the particular limitations of a group test. Accordingly this test was used in the four sample schools, and to assist in the testing programme the writer trained four fourth-year B.Ed. Honours students to administer the test to pupils according to the procedure specified in the manual.

For the reasons explained above, reading ability as measured on a standardised test was chosen as the index for attainment. Although the battery of "reading tests" for the eight to thirteen year age range is considerable, for reasons of expedience and economy the Widespan Reading Test was chosen for this survey. It is standardised for the age range seven to fourteen years and this encompasses all pupils within the sample. Other tests do discriminate more effectively the reading comprehension between adjacent age cohorts, but they have a shorter standardised age range. The operational attractiveness of using one test should be apparent. Again the same four assistants helped to administer the reading test.

The limitations of absence as an index of commitment to school are clear, but several studies on school absence have shown that there is a

social class component in pupils' absence patterns and that generally the older the pupil, particularly in the penultimate and final year of schooling, the greater the number of absences. To the writer's knowledge there is no study of absence patterns in English Middle Schools. Through the co-operation of the four Headteachers it was possible to ascertain the exact number of absences, actually measured in half days, for each of the 1,129 pupils tested. From the geographical position of the schools, the socio-economic structure of their respective catchment areas, and because the number of absences is calculated for the whole year, there is no apparent reason to believe that non-school influences would explain any differential pattern in pupil absence. And whether or not absence is an "establishment problem", schools cannot achieve what they set out formally to do if pupils are infrequent attenders.

Although the two dependent variables chosen to test the hypotheses already stated are limited, they are central to the general ideas of middle school practice, and any more extensive battery of criteria which omitted them would be seriously deficient.

The appropriate statistical analysis for experimental data must be consistent with the form of the independent and criterion variables. For this study the nature of these variables is explained on pp 180 to 182. and a one-way analysis of variance was considered to be an appropriate statistical procedure to ascertain whether there was a significant variation in the means of pupil scores on reading and absence by school type. The S.P.S.S. Computer programme ANOVA was employed to compute the tests of statistical significance.

Briefly the analysis of variance procedure requires a dependent variable measured at least on an interval scale and independent (experimental) variables which can be either interval or ordinal. When the researcher is interested in the possible effects of a single factor, the

analysis is termed a one way analysis of variance. Furthermore, when the researcher judges all the categories to be "considered" or "fixed", a "fixed effect" model is adopted. From the previous description of the input-output data it should be clear that this study meets the considerations required by the ANOVA programme. Conceptually this statistical analysis assumes that the 1,129 pupils have been assigned randomly to one of four school types (or treatments in the familiar textbook explanations). For this experiment these were primary for pupils aged seven to eleven years; secondary comprehensive for pupils aged eleven to eighteen years; middle type 1 for pupils aged eight to twelve years, and middle type 2 for pupils aged ten to thirteen years. After a given period of approximately ten weeks they were tested first on Cattell's Culture Fair and then the Widespan Reading Test, and the score on this test becomes one of the criterion variables, while the school type is the experimental factor, often called the main effect. For illustrative purposes, assumed $\bar{X}_{1-4}$ = mean reading scores for school types 1-4, and that respectively these are

$$\bar{X}_1 = 80 \qquad \bar{X}_2 = 98 \qquad \bar{X}_3 = 122 \quad \text{and} \quad \bar{X}_4 = 100,$$

and the overall mean (Grand Mean for 1129 pupils) = 100. In tabular form this can be presented as below :

	School Type			
Pupils	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	86	102	124	101
"	"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"	"
1129	74	94	120	99
	$\bar{X}_1$= 80	$\bar{X}_2$= 98	$\bar{X}_3$=122	$\bar{X}_4$=100

Whether these hypothetical differences are to be considered statistically significant or trivial depends on the degree of overall variability of

the whole group (1129) and, in particular, on the variability within each category of school type. If it is true that the groups are randomly drawn from the same population, the obtained means should not differ significantly. These hypothetical differences in means will give rise to a variance, the between group variance. This variance will only be significant if these means do vary significantly. Whatever the experimental findings it needs to be stressed here that pupils have been sampled, i.e. the pupils in this sample are representative of nine to thirteen year olds in this country. The four schools have been chosen as representatives of four school types; these have not been drawn at random from D.E.S. lists and because only one representative of each type has been included this is a source of considerable statistical error. We need to remember too that a demonstration of statistical significance does not guarantee educational meaning, and also that it is possible to "buy" statistical significance with large sample numbers.

Experimental Findings.

Before we consider the findings of this survey, perhaps it will be profitable to repeat the first experimental hypothesis, viz :

Ho_1 : There is no significant difference between schools of different types on average reading scores when all pupils are matched for age, sex, residential status and IQ.

School type 1 contained pupils aged seven to eleven years; school type 2 pupils between eleven to eighteen years; school type 3 pupils between eight and twelve years; and school type 4 pupils between ten and thirteen years. Thus a twelve year old, for example, could be attending a type 2 school where he would be a first year pupil, or a type 3 in which he would be in his fourth year, or within a type 4 when he would be in his penultimate year at that school. The other possible school placements

for pupils by age tested during this survey are given in the Table below :

Table 8:1 School Type.

Age of pupil.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
9	/		/	
10	/		/	
11	/		/	/
12		/	/	/
13		/		/

In terms of this analysis then, the experimental variable or main effect is the type of school and reading score is the dependent variable. The age, sex, IQ and residential status of the pupils are "matched" or "controlled" and in terms of the ANOVA programme are classified as covariates. The analysis of variance table for Ho_1 is listed below :

Table8:2 Reading score, by school, with age, sex, residential status and IQ.

Source of Variation.	Mean Square	F.	Significance
Main Effect	18330.09	79.22	0.000
Covariates	17708.96	76.54	0.000
Residual	231.38		

On first reading these figures suggest a highly significant relationship between the main effect (the type of school) and the dependent variable, reading score. Of the covariates, the apparently equally significant contribution comes from IQ (where F = 289.964) and the socio-economic status of the pupil's address. In fact this tells us little: it is no great revelation that pupils with high IQ tend to achieve higher on reading,

or that similarly higher scores are achieved by those from "better" socio-economic areas. The main conclusion that we can draw from this covariate category is that the very crude assumption that was made concerning the imputed socio-economic status of pupils from the street in which they lived has some validity when compared with other socio-graphic studies which have used individual pupil responses.

A more meaningful response to the contribution of the main effect can be achieved by calculating "eta", the correlation ratio. This ratio, whose values vary from 0 to 1.0, is used as an index of relation with data that are not linear, and it is particularly helpful with analysis of variance calculations to indicate the degree of relationships between variables. When the correlation ratio is calculated for the survey data, the following results are obtained :

Main Effect	0.32
Covariates	0.44
Explained Variance	0.54

From this we can infer that approximately 10% of the variance is shared between the main effect, school type, and reading scores, and that for all analysis we can explain only 29% of the total variance. Put in this form the results are more sobering. Nevertheless, a significant F value has been obtained and we do need to look at the average reading scores for the four school types. These are given in Table 8:3 below.

Table 8:3

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
95.3	91.4	94.6	107.6

These figures suggest that school type 4, the ten to thirteen middle school, is very different, and further examination is called for. If the major thrust of this study had been a classical correlational approach then,

of course more schools of each type would have been included in the sample, probably with less pupils than those tested in the Rowland Hutty Middle School. As stated previously it is possible to "buy" statistical significance with relatively large numbers and this could be the explanation here. On the other hand, to "account" for 10% of the variance in the association between reading score and type of school is not necessarily a capricious finding, and so a "case study" approach was undertaken.

Before proceeding to such an examination, school absence was also analysed using an identical statistical programme. Certainly, whatever the errors in the analysis of reading scores, there is no reason to believe that the form of error should be different when exploring the question of whether absence varied between school types. Again the contention was framed initially as a null hypothesis :

Ho_2 : There is no significant difference between schools of different types on average absence rates when all pupils are matched for age, sex, residential status and IQ.

The analysis of variance table appropriate to Ho_2 is given below :

Table 8:4 Absence, by school, with age, sex, residential status and IQ.

Source of Variation	Mean Square	F	Significance
Main Effect	14649.62	0.785	0.456
Covariates	374892.89	20.86	0.000
Residual	18664.45		

This table shows quite emphatically that there is no significant difference in absence rates between the various school types and

certainly offers no support to those middle school advocates who asserted that when pupils were in the top year of a nine to thirteen or a ten to thirteen middle school, for example, they would show greater commitment to school than if they were in the second year of a large "all through" comprehensive. In this instance, it is the covariate category which is illuminating. From the data it is clear that there are no significant sex differences in absence rates, and that age within the middle years of schooling focus is not a powerful contributor, but subsequent tables will show that there is a tendency for absence to rise with age, and this is consistent with the findings in the related literature. (See Appendix 2(d)) Although the association between IQ and absence does not reach the 5% level of significance (where $F = 3.84$), the experimental finding of $F = 2.94$ does indicate that in 87 cases out of 100 IQ and absence are associated. Again this is consistent with more specific studies on school absence. It is when we consider the relationship between the imputed socio-economic status of pupils and absence that a highly significant association is found ($F = 76.41$). Once more this data does not suggest a new finding, but confirms an established tradition. This contributes to this study in two possible ways: it justifies the imputed index for pupil residential status, and it lends credibility to the view that an actual school effect may be influencing attainment in reading within the Rowland Hutty Middle School. On this evidence, then, it was deemed that a case study approach to life in St. Michael's and the Rowland Hutty Middle Schools would probably not be an exploration of school trivia. This is undertaken in Chapter 10.

Some Pupil Perceptions on Transfer between Schools.

Earlier in this study (Ch.3 refers) we noted the concern, and some would argue the obsession, of sociologists with the status of theoretical considerations which underpin more or less satisfactorily their observed data. This concern for sound sociological theory is again enunciated by Glaser and Strauss (1971) in their study of "Status Passage" in which they aim

> "to generate theory that fits the real world, works in predictions and explanations, is relevant to the people concerned and that is readily modifiable." (Glaser & Strauss, p.176).

With these objectives in mind they explore the problems of generating grounded "substantive" and "formal" theory which will systematise and illuminate their observations, particularly in institutional settings, of professionals' careers and the care given to patients and clients. Before commenting on Glaser & Strauss's arguments, perhaps it would be helpful to explain their use of terms. First, they see social theory as embracing a continuum of levels ranging from everyday hypotheses on which most of us build the routine of our everyday lives to the search for "grand theories" in the positive tradition. Between these two extremes, in what they call, after Merton, the "middle range", Glaser & Strauss propose "substantive" and "formal" theory (Glaser & Strauss, pp.177-8). The former is defined as "theory developed for a substantive or empirical area of sociological enquiry" and illustrative examples of this category include patient care, race relations and professional education. Formal theory, on the other hand, is "developed for a formal or conceptual area of sociological enquiry" and examples of this more abstract conceptual level are status passage, organisational careers and stigma. Both types become "grounded" when they evolve either from (a) data derived from systematic research or (b) substantive theory generated from such data. In Glaser & Strauss's

view a third basis (c) for such grounded theory can be identified when (a) and (b) overlap. That these two types are interdependent and in no sense mutually exclusive is illustrated at the substantive level by reference to scientists' careers, and at the formal level by organisational careers; Glaser & Strauss suggest that such grounded theory can be generated by comparative analysis, and the examples which they cite to illustrate this process include the study of junior and senior clinicians in the hospital setting, and the promotion procedure from junior to middle management in the industrial context.

According to Glaser & Strauss's exposition, comparative analysis is one of the two main ways in which formal theory is generated from grounded substantive theory without the use of additional data. The other way in which substantive theory is "written up a notch" is by re-writing, when, for example, the care of the dying according to their social status is generalised into the distribution of professional services according to social value. Typically, they argue substantive theories become the stepping stones for the development of formal theory where "the design involves a progressive building up from facts through substantive to formal grounded theory" (Glaser & Strauss, p.181).

Although this exposition appears to facilitate the purpose of this enquiry, it is necessary to exercise caution when espousing such theory: Glaser & Strauss do not explain how the researcher ascertains what counts as "fact", "systematic research" and which prior conceptual categories are permitted to classify the observed data. The present writer has relied on an ethnographic technique, countenanced by Glaser & Strauss, to explore how pupils perceive their transfer from primary to secondary, and from middle to high schools and has accepted verbatim the categories which pupils themselves use. The intention is to locate such pupil perceptions, which Glaser & Strauss would describe as data from the real world, in substantive grounded and formal theory of pupil careers and status passage respectively.

Within sociological literature, the term "career" is applied to a wide range of social contexts which include both individuals in particular situations and groups who share a variety of experiences together. Whether the term career is used to describe the individual or the group, the essence of the concept is a description of changes over time and these changes can be considered "either as a series of personal adjustments or as patterned progression of personal roles." Everett C. Hughes, an influential member of the Chicago School of Sociologists who have developed a distinctive analysis of the "self" in society and promoted the symbolic interactionist perspective, has defined career as :

> "subjectively career is the moving perspective in which a person sees his life as a whole, interprets his attitudes, actions and things which happen to him. Objectively, it is a series of statuses and clearly defined offices.....typical sequences of position, responsibility and even adventure." (Hughes, 1937 pp. 409-10).

Hughes considers the concept particularly useful because it facilitates a link between the individual and organisational levels of analysis. Career is "personal" in that it focusses on individual identity and "organisational" in that it describes both a person's occupational path in the conventional sense, as well as "any strand of any person's course through life", to use Goffman's phrase. Because many individuals share aspects of their history in common, the term can equally well be applied to groups as well as individuals.

When career is seen as "a series of personal adjustments" either to social institutions, formal organisations or informal relationships, the emphasis is essentially subjective; it concerns the way in which particular individuals behave and interpret behaviour in specific situations. Alternatively, if careers are seen as "a patterned progression of social roles",

the emphasis is upon how social structure influences behaviour, and in the context of this study relates to the ways pupils' adjustments to transfer between schools are limited by conditions outside their control. These structures and how pupils respond to a particular stage of their scholastic career are explored in the subsequent empirical data.

Dale (1972, p.66) examines the potential of this concept to aid our understanding of life in schools. He suggests that an analysis of types of career within an organisation can illuminate the structure of that organisation. Although some of the constraints upon school organisation are external, e.g. the age structure of the pupils who are its members and that membership is compulsory, within that school the particular organisation does facilitate the generation of institutionally specific careers, such as improvers or deteriorators for example.

Within school, the "officially promoted" careers tend to be those which are congruent with the teachers' definition of the situation, viz. the value of academic achievement and the desirability of such non-cognitive traits as effort and interest. "Deviant careers" are open to the truant, the disruptive and unmotivated pupil for example. In Dale's words, "the type of sanctioned career available in the schools themselves lead to the creation of unsuccessful estranged groups for whom there is already made alternative available"; and the researches of Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970) and Willis (1976) illustrate this contention.

The related sociological concept of "status passage" is also pertinent to our understanding of how pupils perceive the process of transfer between schools. The notion of status passage has been developed particularly by Anselm Strauss (1971) and Glaser & Strauss (1971) from the original work on stratification theory by Max Weber. Following Weber, most sociologists use the term status in two different, but sometimes inter-related ways. The first use describes a social position such as juvenile,

married or widow. These illustrative statuses refer to positions in a social system and, of course, are distinct from the individuals who occupy them; in this sense statuses are categories. The second use of status embraces an evaluative component: it describes a classification of social stratification in terms of social prestige. In Weber's words, "social honour is socially distributed and exists in a regular pattern from outside the activities of any particular individual" (Quoted, Bendix p.86). Furthermore, this differential evaluation is not an individual assessment, but rests on a collective judgement which reflects that society's contemporaneous values. Individuals in that society who share a similar status position often form groups or communities which display a particular life style and possess a sense of common identity. In the context of this study pupils provide a good illustration of the concept "status group" and the subsequent empirical data provides a group perspective on the transfer between schools.

Although Glaser & Strauss "prefer not to define status passages, but to let the full range of meanings for the concept emerge.....through the combined references of the data analysed and the analyses themselves" (1971, p.6), the concept can be described simply as "the moves which individuals make in and out of various social positions during the course of a career", e.g. from childhood to adulthood, or from single to married status. The parallel to the school context is obvious: the pupils move from first to second year, or are promoted and demoted between streams, for example, and in many cases these changes do represent significant moments in pupils' careers.

The properties of status passage are described by Glaser & Strauss as follows :

"1. The passage may be considered in some measure desirable or undesirable by the person making the passage or by other relevant parties. Going from unmarried to married status generally is thought

desirable; becoming a prisoner is generally undesirable.

2. The passage may be inevitable. In van Gennep's book, the passage from birth to childhood is inevitable; in our society, the passage into the marital status is not.

3. The passage may be reversible to some degree. The age-graded passages that anthropologists study run in only one direction; they are irreversible. But changes of status within organizations can be reversible - a man can not only move "up" into a status but can also be demoted. Sick people may recover totally or partly.

4. A passage may be repeatable or nonrepeatable. Parson's analysis of the sick role focuses on reversibility (from normal to sick and back to normal), but this passage can be repeatable. Cleveland was twice elected President of the United States, even after an intervening defeat, whereas Franklin Roosevelt was elected repeatedly.

5. The person who goes through the passage may do so alone, collectively, or in aggregate with any number of other persons.

6. It follows that when people go through a passage collectively, or in aggregate, they may not be aware that they are all going through it together or at least not aware of all aspects of their similar passages. The experience of virtually any cohorts, such as those of a large school class, provides an example.

7. It is worth distinguishing between the above situation and one where, although aware, the person can or cannot communicate with the others. Most often, of course, communication is possible, but there are passages where those being "processed" cannot communicate with others who are simultaneously going through an identical change of status (for instance, junior executives in a large corporation who are simultaneously being demoted.)

8. The person making the passage may do so voluntarily or have no choice in the matter (or perhaps have degrees of choice either en

toto or about aspects of the passage). Commitment to prison after trial is involuntary; commitment to a mental institution may be voluntary or involuntary (or partly both).

9. Another property is the degree of control which various agents - including the person undergoing the passage - have over various aspects of the passage. For instance, a prisoner may have some degree of control - through his deportment - over how quickly he can leave the prison on parole. A father can forbid or persuade his son not to take the driving exam that, if passed successfully, will make him a licensed driver.

10. The passage may require special legitimation by one or more authorized agents. Thus a man may die, but his death is not official until he is pronounced dead by a legitimate agent: a physician.

11. The clarity of the signs of passage, for the various parties may vary from great to negligible clarity. It is clear to an applicant that he has been accepted into college when he receives notice of his acceptance, but Sutherland's thief describes vividly how a con man turns a man into a mark, without the man's immediate recognition. The signs are not always so clear to the person himself, let alone to relevant parties who, like parents, may not recognize when their children are married.

12. These last examples suggest thst the signs might actually be clear enough if they were known, but that they may be disguised by relevant parties. (This, of course, is an aspect of control, just as it is of deliberately managed lack of clarity.)"

The co-authors recognise readily that these twelve properties are not exhaustive and take this form from their particular comparative analyses. Other researchers identify the CENTRALITY and the DURATION

of the passage, that is how significant the passage is to the person and the period of time over which the passage occurs. To accept these listed properties as a checklist for an appraisal of pupils' perspectives on transfer is arbitrary, but it should facilitate an acceptable systematic analysis. Inevitably certain properties are more appropriate to pupil careers than others, but it seems reasonable that the following kind of profile could emerge. The majority of pupils may well find transfer desirable. while almost certainly some will not. For all pupils in this survey transfer was inevitable and non-reversible; for some it was a repeated event because they would already have been transferred from first to middle school. In a sense it could be maintained that pupils within the "primary" sample would also have been transferred from infant to junior departments, but this was within the same schools and appeared less formalised. If pupils in this category refer to the changed status at seven plus, it would be a significant observation. Whether the passage is undertaken collectively or alone would seem particularly pertinent to pupil transfer. In England and Wales the status passage from "top" to "first" year is almost always a collective activity; only in exceptional circumstances do pupils receive accelerated promotion between schools. From the theory we would expect the pupils to demonstrate an awareness of the passage and communicate this to one another. Furthermore, this might well vary systematically according to the number of "feeding" and "receiving" schools. We do know that for all pupils the passage was involuntary, tightly controlled and scheduled well beforehand. From the empirical data we should look for evidence relating to the clarity of the signs of passage. Feelings which pupils express will almost certainly illuminate the centrality of transfer to them, but the formal duration should be identical for all. Because of the way these properties have been generated, we would expect for many pupils that they will "crosscut" other; probably the passage will

be of short duration and important to the individual, the signs of movement may or may not be clear to him. Those in control might attempt to clarify or obscure the meaning of the signs of passage to the pupils. The synthesis from these several properties may well vary with the different ages of transfer. These theoretical considerations, then, deriving from the ideas of Glaser & Strauss provide the basis for the analysis of pupil perceptions of transfer between schools.

For this study pupils' perceptions were identified by a content analysis of essays written by children in different types of school, both before and after their transfer from either primary to comprehensive secondary at the age of eleven plus, or from middle to a third tier school at the age of twelve or thirteen plus. The schools used for this exercise were (1) a primary school for pupils aged 7-11; (2) an 11-18 Comprehensive High School; (3) a middle school for pupils aged 8-12; (4) a third tier High School for pupils 12-18; and (5) a middle school for pupils 10-13. Schools (3) and (5) are respectively St. Michael's and the Rowland Hutty Middle Schools described in the case studies, while School (1) was included in the sample of primary schools for the empirical survey described in Chapter 8 . Pupils from School (1) transferred to School (2), and from Schools (3) and (4). Because the pupils in School (5) moved to five different High Schools in Wallasey, the present writer decided that it was impractical to follow them through to their respective third tier schools.

Approximately four weeks before the end of the summer term in the primary and middle schools, each pupil was asked to write an essay, "My thoughts on changing schools." The essays were written during an English lesson and the exercise was supervised by their usual teacher. In practice, this "essay" ranged from a few lines to several pages. Just before Christmas in the secondary and third tier schools the same pupils were asked to write a second essay entitled, "My thoughts on my new school."

Similar supervision arrangements were made. In each exercise pupils were given no guidelines, cues or structure, but were simply told to write freely, frankly and anonymously, and that the essays would not be read by any teacher within the respective schools. The only identification to each essay was the pupil's register number which enabled the present writer to compare their ideas before and after the transition between schools. The frankness, obvious sincerity and absence of stereotyped format in these essays supports the belief that the researcher's instructions were carried out to the letter and in the spirit by teachers and pupils. The feelings expressed ranged from "I am sorry about leaving this school because the teachers have put a lot of hard work in for our school" to the terse "This school is crap."

Although no ideas were suggested to pupils when writing these essays, the content provides overwhelming supportive evidence that the "age identity" is central to pupils' thinking. Most essays from the primary and middle schools provided an opinion as to the most appropriate age of transfer between schools. The number of quotations cited for each school type reflects approximately the relative incidence of the comments made, and throughout the pupils' spelling of words is given.

Age of Transfer.

"I think leaving school at the age of 11 is right because you ought to learn foreign languages because you are getting to the age when you are likely to go abroad." (1)

"I think it is a good idea to leave here at 11." (1)

"The age that I think children should leave primary school is 11 or 12 years old." (1)

"In September I am going to Chester High School, and think 12 is about the right age." (2)

"I am sad to leave because I have got used to the people at St.

Michael's. But I know why we have to change because we need more knowledge. 12 is the right age." (2)

In both the primary and 8-12 middle schools no contrary opinions are expressed as to the appropriateness of eleven or twelve years being the "right" age for transfer; the pupils appear to accept this stage of their schooling as natural. Within the 10-13 school, however, pupil opinion is divided :

"I think 13 is a sensible age to leave your middle school." (5)

"13 is a good age (to change school) because you're no too young or old." (5)

"I think leaving to go to a new school at 13 is a good idea because the schools are evenly spaced out, about three years in each. Leaving at eleven is not a good idea because you would have too long in the next school." (5)

Although these quotations reflect approval for the 10-13 system, an equal number are critical of the three tier system :

"I think that we should only go to two schools...(one) from 6-11, then 11 to 16, 17 or 18." (5)

"We just seem to be settling down when we have to move on." (5)

and

"I think we should have to go to two schools only. What is the use of going to one school for three years and another for four years. Why can't we have a junior school for six years and a senior school for six years?" (5)

Elaborating the same argument, one boy maintains :

"I don't think it is a good idea leaving middle school at 13 because it often means you have to work harder to catch up with other children if you moved into another area and the children went straight up to comprehensive schools from primary." (5)

Others, perhaps, were repeating parental opinion when they wrote :

> "I think it is rather silly changing to another school. I have been to two already. It also costs a lot of money for my uniform," (5)

and

> "I don't think we should change three times like we do because its a waste of time and money." (5)

When the same pupils write from their respective High Schools, there is not a single reference to the age of transfer question.

Understandably most pupils see their transfer from one school to another as a very important stage in their school careers, and it is not surprising to find that personal aspirations and anxieties are central in nearly every essay, irrespective of the pupil's age. One does not have to be a social psychologist to appreciate the significance of the peer group to children in the middle years or to be sensitive to those feelings which may be generated by the potential disruption of established friendship patterns.

Material Resources.

Several authors have noted the institutional characteristics of schools and Becker (1968) and Jackson (1968), particularly, have emphasised the power of institutions to structure the realities of their members. The physical structure of the building, the allocation of space and the use of time are significant features of life in institutions, and these features provide recurring themes in many pupils' essays. It was explained in Chapter 4 , that the space allocated to pupils in schools varies proportionately with age, and many children in their essays referred to this equation, although the direction of their answers was not consistent. Surprisingly, perhaps, the 11 year old pupils in the conventional primary school were unanimous in their response :

"I have seen the school from the outside. It looks very big and exciting." (1)

"I am looking forward to my new school because there are lots of facilities such as squash courts and badminton.....cooking rooms and science rooms and lots of space..." (1)

while the twelve plus children in the 8-12 middle school, which it should be remembered was formerly a secondary modern school for over five hundred children, were more cautious. Comments such as

"I am looking forward to going to a much bigger school than I am now." (3)

were expressed far less often than the contrary opinion,

"It's easy to get around in St. Michael's School. It will be harder to find the right classroom in the High School." (3)

and

"I will be frightened because there are more people and more teachers than at St. Michael's." (3)

Very similar opinions were expressed by the thirteen year old pupils at The Rowland Hutty Middle School :

"I've seen my new school and its very big there's corridors everywhere you look and an endless supply of classrooms and its very easy to get lost in a school like this." (5)

"I've seen my school it is giant size." (5)

Frequently pupils associated size with "facilities", and this association was generally expressed in more positive terms,

"I am glad there is a big library because I like reading a lot." (1)

"I think there's a big library there and I will enjoy that." (5)

"When we got a letter about the school I saw one thing in it,

it said there would be a drama studio that's one good thing because I want to be an actor when I grow up." (1)

and

"I believe Rowland Hutty can no longer train us sufficiently for future life. Our science labs are insufficiently equipped and our sports equipment is old and worn out." (5)

When writing from the secondary and third tier schools after transfer, these same pupils return predictably to the same issues :

"I think the buildings are quite good and big enough." (2)

"I think the new school is too small because if you compaire it with other high schools like Waverbridge it is not very big." (2)

"Chester High School is a very big place. Sometimes you get lost and sometimes your late for your lesson." (4)

"I dislike the way the stairs are one way because if you lose something on the stairs you only have a small chance of getting back to it." (4)

"I don't like it when you change lessons because when you go up the stairs you get squashed." (2)

and

"The way the school is laid out is very confusing 15+ on the bottom floor, 12+ on the first floor and some of the 13+ on the top floor...." (4)

This recent data supports a point made by Eggleston (1967) over a decade ago in his researches into the correlates of extended schooling, viz. that pupils' material environment is a significant factor in their response to schooling.

Friendship.

Friendship is a cherished ingredient in most people's lives, and there is overwhelming evidence to demonstrate that this is particularly

important to pupils in the middle years of schooling. Understandably, then, the prospect of transfer between various types of school generated anxious feelings about established friendships, while for some it held the potential for more satisfying relationships.

"I am looking forward to going to the new school a bit, but not a lot because I will have to loose my friend." (1)

"When I go to my new school I want to make new friends." (1)

"I think comprehensive schools are a good idea because you make more friends." (3)

"I will be glad to leave St. Michael's because I will be able to meet my friends which I used to no at my first school." (3)

"One thing I won't like is leaving all my old friends who are going to different schools." (5)

"I don't really like leaving because in this school I know my way around and all my friends and people I know are here." (5)

"I don't want to leave this school because I will be losing my friends." (5)

Several pupils expressed the view that if they had a real choice, in our theoretical terms if status passage was a voluntary act, they would prefer not to change school at all, although a minority position is reflected in the following words from a twelve year old girl :

"Although I am leaving every one of my friends I know that I will soon make new ones and I can go to my next school and get myself a better reputation." (5)

On balance, pupils in the Rowland Hutty Middle School were more concerned about the effects of transfer on their friendships than pupils in the primary and eight to twelve middle schools. To conclude that this reflects the fact that such ties are more developed at thirteen, than

twelve or eleven and is a function of maturation could be too simple: possibly maturation is organisationally determined, and the former "commonsense" explanation is a reification of the notion of maturation.

The extent to which these hopes and fears concerning friendship are realised after transfer is indicated in the following comments :

"I have got some friends in other classes from Oakbank School and some from other schools." (2)

"When I first went into the school a teacher took me into the hall. I got there and could see all my friends. I was scared because I might not be in the same class as some of my friends and be the only Oakbank person." (2)

"I soon got to know people and children in our class after a couple of days. I soon got to know my way around school and made lots of friends." (4)

"I think there is more facilates than in St. Michael's but I haven't broken any friendships yet." (4)

References to friends are few and reassuring, suggesting that the apprehension expressed some five or six months previously had not materialised. But two related themes, above all others, emerge and capture the trauma of enforced "status passage" from one school to another: the "demoted" status from "top" to "first" year, and the fear of being "picked on" and bullied. These feelings cut across age, sex, ability and social class, and are described openly :

"I dont like the thought of being babies in the High School after being eldest in the school." (1)

"I feel sad about this (changing schools) because I had a great time being at the top of school." (3)

"I am used to being top of the school and don't like to be bottom of it again." (5)

"In the school I am going to I will be a third year a will be like a first year and I will not be very dig (sic) to all of the boys and girls there I will be very small and I will get bost around and picket on." (5)

A smaller proportion, particularly in St. Michael's adopt a more optimistic, and even reflective stance :

"I will be happy in Chester High School because I will feel much older." (3)

and

"I do not mind being the youngest because in a few years you will be the eldest." (3)

It is though the fear of being "ragged", "picked on" or bullied which is expressed most intensely, as the following quotations show :

"I am hoping that when it is someone's birthday some of the older pupils do not break eggs over that person's head like they do at Waverbridge." (1)

"There is only one thing I am frightened of and that is older ones picking and hitting me. When I get to the top form I am not going to pick on 12+ because I know what it is like." (3)

"I do not think large comprehensives are a good idea because..... there will be a lot more bullying." (3)

"I expect big boys and girls biger than me to pick on me and bully me." (5)

"I have horrible thoughts of my next school which is Brightsea I think there is no disciplin from what my friends have told me. They also told me that groups of lads go around battering people up, they are supposed to be from the dreaded L.E.B.B., which stands for the Leasowe Estate Boot Boys." (5)

Yet, perhaps, the intensity of apprehension which transfer between schools

brings for many pupils, as well as its more generalised focus, is conveyed most effectively by this thirteen year old boy :

"If I go to my new school some big lads will bully me and if they do I will tell my teter and they will tell the Hed master and the Hedmaster will give them the cane so I wont want to go to anover scol yet I cant spell or read all that moth I will have to lon to read and spell." (5)

Much more than the issue of friendship, the question of physical intimidation recurs in several essays written after transfer. Although the majority of pupils reported that their fears had been overstated, as these extracts indicate :

"I always had the feeling that you were bullied by older boys and girls, but no its been alright." (2)

"Before I set foot in this school I heard some rumers about all the hard knocks, steeling yourdinner money and all that...but now I feel its just like any other school." (4)

"My thoughts on Chester High School are totally different than I thought they were. Because I thought the bigger kids would hit us but they didn't." (4)

A small, but recurrent theme is maintained in the assertion that

"a lot of bullying goes on in this school and their are at least three big fights a week." (4)

Organisation of time and school rules.

That regulation of time and dress are important institutional characteristics in the lives of pupils is made manifestly clear by the unsolicited observations on homework, frequent changes of lessons, the use of detention and the requirement to wear some kind of school uniform. Homework and the wearing of school uniform are recurrent themes in the

initial essays. Pupils comment on both the principle and the detail, with favourable and contrary opinion being divided approximately equally :

Homework.

"I am looking forward to doing homework, but not too much." (1)

"I am not looking forward to doing homework all the while." (1)

"I think homework should be stopped unless it is unfinished work because it is the kind of thing we should do in school." (5)

Uniform.

"I am looking forward to my first day so I can wear my new uniform." (1)

"I don't like the High School uniform much." (3)

"I think you should have a uniform." (5)

"When we come to school I think we should wear our ordinary clothes." (5)

although only one boy referred directly to control,

"I think teachers should wear a uniform as well because they are always telling us to straighten our ties or comb our hair." (5)

Within the three tier systems several pupils explained their objection to the detail of school uniform in terms of the unnecessary expense incurred :

"My Mum just can't afford the new uniform every three years or so." (5)

After transfer, the relative importance of these two issues diverge considerably. The wearing of uniform appears to be taken for granted and relatively few comments are made. Homework, on the other hand, becomes a greater constraint on a pupil's use of his time, as the following extracts demonstrate :

"I think homework should not be aloud because we do all our work at school and homework stops us from watching the telly at night." (2)

"I think that we should have homework but I don't think we should have it at weekend because you always have to worry about how much homework you have to do and sometimes you can't go out on family trips because you have too much homework to do." (2)

"My thoughts about Deebanks High when I was at my old school were that there would be very little homework to do but that was totally wrong." (2)

Pupils who transferred from St. Michael's to Chester High School made similar complaints about the intrusiveness of homework, "even near Christmas." Homework was set for the oldest age group in both primary and middle schools, but this made fewer demands on pupils' time. When this is increased in all types of High school it is consistently resented, irrespective of pupils' age in the first year. Another consequence of the allocation of time in the High schools was unexpected to many pupils. We have seen that pupils were concerned about physical intimidation, but very few commented on the sanctions which they expected that schools might use to control non-approved behaviour. Although a good number of pupils thought that their new schools would be "strict", the use of detention after school was considered to be unreasonable and unjust.

If only one criterion is permitted to distinguish between "primary" and "secondary" school practices, the differential allocation of time in the two types of institution would be well worthy of consideration. The extent to which a middle school is deemed "primary" rather than "secondary", pedagogically rather than administratively, could well be decided on this criterion. In the primary schools of this survey, all pupils were taught in a class teacher situation; in St. Michael's Middle

most lessons were of this kind, but specialist teaching was provided in English, French and Music. At the Rowland Hutty Middle School, the following additional subjects were taught by specialists - Maths, Science, German and P.E. In the two High Schools where pupils' opinions were sought, all subjects were taught on a specialist basis. Thus a comparison of pupil responses to new time-table patterns should provide an important perspective on life in schools from behind the desk.

As a result of formal visits to their next school and through the informal communication networks, most pupils realised that their school day would be organised differently after they had left their present schools. Like the related issues of homework and school uniform, pupil opinion overall was fairly divided between those who welcomed more specialist lessons and those who were apprehensive. In the primary school, however, most pupils were looking forward to the High School and this girl's comment is typical of those transferring at eleven plus :

> "...and the teachers that are their to teach us will probably know more about the one subject that they will be teaching us about." (1)

There is, though, more uncertainty in the minds of pupils at St. Michael's about these impending changes :

> "When you split up into groups I think it is confusing. Having different teachers all the time does not improve your work because you cannot guarantee that they are all good teachers." (3)

> "I am not sorry about leaving this school because in the next school there is a lot to look forward to like Art and Craft and science with more experienced teachers." (3)

> "It would be more exciting at Chester High School than it is at St. Michael's because you do metal work and wood work." (3)

and

"It will be confusing changing lessons all the time." (3)

Although the pupils at the Rowland Hutty Middle School have already experienced much more "specialist" teaching than pupils in St. Michael's, their comments reflect similar feelings :

"One thing I do like about it (the third tier school) is that it seems to have teachers who just do their own special subjects. There also seems to be quite a lot of special rooms for subjects." (5)

"I wish though we wouldn't have so many sections in science, e.g. Biology and Physics in the next school." (5)

"In the nexed school you can learn better things like Chemistry and Physics." (5)

and

"In this school we have physics, chemistry and biology all under the same subject, science....In my next school these subjects will be done in seperate periods. I am pleased about this." (5)

After three months in the High schools fewer pupils made reference to the structure of the time-table or to the labelling of school "subjects", but those that do comment appear less than enthusiastic :

"I've got used to it now (changing lessons) and I know all the teachers that take me for lessons quite well." (2)

"And we never had a time-table in the old school (middle)... We just did what our old teacher wanted to do." (4)

"We also have 35 mins lessons which are very boring because as soon as you have settled down the bell goes again for you to change lessons." (4)

and one boy was clearly writing in a similar vein from personal experience :

"The half hour lessons which we have are daft because some teachers

tell you off for being late when you have come from a mobile or the games field and you have to go to the top floor." (4)

Perhaps the majority who make no comment on time-tabling are quite happy with their new routine, and in one pupil's words, "have taken it in their stride"? One further and related issue does emerge from the second essays: all pupils in the primary and middle schools have been taught in mixed-ability classes, and for between six and eight years this has been the only teaching environment they have known, yet several pupils concur with the boy who wrote :

"Another thing I like is that you are streamed for French Maths and Science. In the middle school we went to lessons in one class and some pupils were not as good others so you could not get on fast." (4)

And this view is not confined to the able pupils who feel that they are not being "stretched",

"I think the idea of being split into vereus grops for your own cape a bilty is a good one as well." (4)

This researcher's expectation that most pupils would appraise their new school mainly in terms of their personal responses to teachers was overwhelmingly fulfilled, although some of the phrases used were not in the conventional reference form, but only a minority were derogatory. Although a small minority felt dispossessed in terms of being "lockerless" with the consequence that they "had to cart all their kit about", and they certainly felt that this demeaned their status, much more significantly the majority of pupils felt that in their new schools they were "treated more like adults", and whatever their initial reservations to their impending change of status, in retrospect they found the experience as a desirable stage in their pupil careers, if only because "I am now in the last school I'll have to go to".

Certainly it is worth noting that according to the pupil responses in this study, no schools consciously prepared the pupils for transfer beyond the allocation of a day or half a day to visit the receiving school, and this occurred no earlier than three weeks before they left the feeder school. Considering that many teachers in these survey schools have been involved in curriculum study groups to facilitate "continuity", this is a surprising omission. Yet the evidence for anticipatory socialisation is clear: pupils expected to be treated in a more adult way and for the next stage of schooling to be more demanding. Although both St. Michael's and the Rowland Hutty Middle Schools were former large secondary modern schools and both retained their laboratories and much equipment when they became middle, pupils in these two schools expected "better" facilities in their third tier schools in a similar way to the eleven year old pupils at Oakbank Primary.

These findings are very similar to those reported by Piggott (1977) who looked at the perceptions of pupils aged twelve plus before and after transfer to certain middle schools in Southampton. Piggott's study focussed on a single age of transfer and methodologically he presented pupils with potential pre-determined categories with which to structure their responses. In the rubric to his instruments (Piggott, 1977 Appendices 1 & 11), he explicitly raised emotional and attitudinal considerations, e.g. "In some ways you may be looking forward to it (transfer between schools) keenly, but in others you may be anxious or worried." After six weeks in the High School he prompted, "You probably felt very strange and perhaps a little nervous" and in the short notes to the second appendix, he asked pupils to comment on their expressed worries before transfer and to compare these feelings with how they felt now, as well as asking them to appraise new subjects in terms of enjoyment. Although this methodological procedure is wide open to the criticism that Piggott "made" the research problem, in the event his findings reflect those elicited by a more neutral and sociologically acceptable procedure.

It would seem, then, that such feelings really exist in terms of the passagees' definition of the situation. The disparity between the findings reported in this study, those of Piggott and others reported verbally to the present writer is limited. When referring to pupil perceptions of grouping strategies, Piggott maintains that "it is significant without exception that they are children who are reasonably fluent writers who are able to identify and express their anxieties" (Piggott, p.74), but this view is not sustained by the data presented in this study, and which also would not support the hypothesis implied by Piggott that "This feeling (that transfer between schools signifies a new start in life) is likely to be more in evidence in children transferring to secondary schools at twelve plus, as in Southampton say, than in those transferring at eleven plus, as in say the rest of the county, but less so than in pupils transferring at thirteen plus as in, for example, the Isle of Wight (Piggott, p.88).

Although Piggott's data is illuminating in its own right, his analysis is sociologically wholly atheoretical and it is necessary to appraise the data derived for this study in the framework suggested by Glaser & Strauss. Certainly the transfer of pupils from one school to another is a good example of status passage which is scheduled, regularised and prescribed. Whether transfer is at 11, 12 or 13, the passage is well known before-hand to all pupils, and while the eleven plus is no longer the major "prescribed step and regular action", the allocation of pupils to the receiving schools is a specifically detailed procedure in each of the sample areas of this study. The pupil responses cited in this chapter illustrate three consistent themes: that the new status is looked forward to with varying degrees of confidence; that these pupil perceptions may be more or less accurate; and that the association between such confidence or apprehension appears marginal to its perceived centrality, as defined by Glaser & Strauss. These conclusions are consistent with

those presented in the T.V. interviews associated with the Open University Course, E.282.

In terms of Glaser & Strauss's properties, transfer is perceived by pupils in this sample as desirable, although there is a consistent indication of apprehension. Since the abolition of all age schools in this country, some passage is inevitable; transfer is compulsory and not a voluntary procedure. Because transfer is an age determined passage it is not reversible, but for some of the pupils it was a repeated process. The data presented in this Chapter illustrates the significance which pupils attribute to age and there is good evidence that this is institutionally conditioned. Within the educational context, the legitimation of status passage is a formality, and very few pupils challenge it. Particularly with reference to school uniform - "I will feel more older when I wear the uniform" - pupils commented on the signs of the clarity of passage, while no one alluded to the duration. While every pupil was aware of their status passage, such awareness does not appear to vary with the number of feeding or receiving schools, some did comment on the way the receiving school allocated them to their new classes.

For several pupils, transfer did provoke thoughts on the purpose on schooling, and expectedly these covered a spectrum including :

"I would like it if you could learn about the job you are going to do." (5)

"I want to get my A levels and my O levels at the High School." (3)

and

"School is a waiste of time." (3)

Furthermore these reflections on a potential career path were not restricted to the strictly instrumental aspects of schooling as the following quotation illustrates :

"I can go to my next school and get myself a better reputation," (5)

and again this dimension concerning those who had experienced "trouble" and wanted to start with a "clean sheet" is simarly identified by Piggott in his study,

To summarise this section we can fairly conclude that the properties of status passage as developed by Glaser & Strauss do provide a useful structure with which to analyse pupil perceptions of transfer between schools. Clearly certain properties are more appropriate to this particular passage than others, but the "crosscutting" to which they refer is neatly illustrated by the data and the notion of centrality gives specific insights. An area of further study could be to monitor the career paths in the various types of school of those pupils who differentially perceived the importance of transfer to them, and this will be discussed further in the concluding chapter.

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF TWO MIDDLE SCHOOLS.

When the sociologist comes to study organisations the familiar tensions between the several theoretical approaches, which were described and appraised in Chapter 3 . are again in evidence. Schools are organisations which to some degree both reflect wider socio-structural considerations (in their internal arrangement) and contain particular social processes. An adequate sociological approach to schools, then, should facilitate three levels of analysis. First, it should enable meaningful comparisons to be made between schools and other types of organisation, such as hospitals, prisons and factories, for example. Secondly, because schools are very different in themselves, it should permit the specific features of, say, a First and High School to be identified and analysed, and finally, the interdependence between the school and the societal structures should be in evidence.

In Chapter 3 it was argued that the available evidence suggested that schools were inclined more to a "state of perilous equilibrium" than exemplifying consensus and order. For this reason a conflict model was preferred to one implying a social homestatic mechanism. Different "interest groups" outside and within the school seek to establish their ideology upon others. Individuals and groups react to these social pressures, and they do not always respond similarly. Thus it is essential that the theoretical model which is chosen accommodates "the subjectively meaningful nature of social life". In the Chapter entitled "Some Theoretical Considerations", it was maintained that the notion of exchange, which takes cognisance of structural considerations, can be located satisfactorily within an interactionist framework. This theoretical position acknowledges both the question of "power relations" and individuals' "definition of the situation".

Although schools are not directly comparable with factories, for

example, they do share some social processes. What the correlate is for the school of improved "productivity" is a matter for debate, but it is said that middle schools were established to "improve" educational provision for pupils between the ages of eight and thirteen.

Studies by Waller (1933), Shipman (1968), Turner (1968) and Clarendon (1976), for example, have shown that the aims of teachers and pupils conflict, and that within both these categories there is considerable sectional interest. In part such conflict derives from the lack of consensus about what are the goals of schooling. Although it is a gross oversimplification to assert that primary schools are child, and secondary schools subject, centred, within these two levels there are significant differences of emphasis along this continuum. At a directly observable level, such differences are manifest in the organisation of the school day and the physical arrangement of the classroom. The significance of these differences is central to the middle school problem.

The size of the school building and the physical arrangement of the classroom set limits to, if they do not determine, the process of teaching. The age structure, kind of training and composition of the teaching staff, the size of the pupil intake, as well as the economic consequences which arise as a result of the increase or decline in the school population greatly affect life within schools. St. Michael's and the Rowland Hutty Middle School, like Clarendon, were formerly secondary modern and adapted to middle schools. In each there was a decline in school population as a result of re-organisation. The tensions which occur from expansion are different to those of contraction.

To state that the composition of the staff is basic to the working of a school is almost trite, but this <u>is</u> a very significant factor when analysing new middle schools in which the teachers may well come from

very different traditions. When the former schools have been ex-secondary where the subject specialist tradition is strong, the teachers may well see their careers in teaching the eleven to sixteen years age group. Although there have been some attempts during the 1960's to blur subject boundaries in the secondary school by means of project work, mixed ability and team teaching experiments, the influence of examination pressures and salary structure have been powerful constraints on the maintenance of specialisation.

When secondary school re-organisation has been initiated in several local education authorities (Piper, 1975; Batley et als., 1970) the "in situ" head teachers have tended to react in one of the following predictable ways: to fight and defend the existing situation for as long as possible; to move out quickly, either for promotion, a "sideways move", or to retire prematurely; to engage in conflict one with another to become Head of a High School, rather than Deputy or Middle School Head; or simply co-operate with the inevitable. Once his personal position has been resolved, more or less to his own satisfaction, and if he has become Head of a Middle School, then he is faced with the major problem of how to initiate change within his own school. Does he go for "radical surgery" or gradual change ? Is he to be autocratic and impose his views or does he seek to involve his colleagues? But what if his staff refuse to co-operate? Restrictive practices are not the prerogative of the "shop floor", and resistance to change, in schools, as elsewhere, can run deep.

The management of the total staffing problem has a familiar profile to the Head of the newly designated middle school which is not new and purpose built: staff who were well up the promotion ladder prior to re-organisation are the first to seek and obtain new posts; the school may be left with a "rigid rump" who are forced to adapt by necessity

rather than choice. Because of their seniority of service they become ascribed leaders with an unwillingness to lead. If such teachers are committed to a departmental structure, this may have a pervasive influence on work and friendship groups, with the consequence that newly appointed staff are either absorbed into this network or "left out in the cold".

Theoretically the Headteacher has the option to facilitate innovation by adopting a "power-coercive", a "normative-re-educative" or a "rational-empirical" strategy. Frequently Middle School Headteachers' Associations are formed; Local Authority Advisers are on hand to assist with organisational ideas and curricular content, and Teachers' Centres mount courses to help teachers at the individual level. In practice these options are limited: Heads and teachers have little say over buildings; the Architect is the authority concerning the physical structure, and the administrator's perception of the Middle School's requirements often conflicts with that of the staff. A recurrent theme is that of insufficient money for necessary re-planning, "Most money ... (went on) ... fire-doors etc. which did nothing to improve the educational environment and understandably staff felt some frustration when they saw how little could be done with the money available". (Clarendon, op.cit., p.63).

The theoretical model formulated in Chapter 3 suggests that it is important to identify in the sample areas which "interest groups" exist, what they see as significant resources and to analyse the interaction between these groups. To identify and describe the "bargaining process" will be an important focus. It will also be necessary to assess the homogeneity of the "interest groups"; whether the differences between the groups so identified are greater than those within them. The extent

to which these issues and characteristics were evident in St. Michael's and the Rowland Hutty Middle School are considered in the following sections.

St. Michael's Middle School.

St. Michael's was originally opened as a Voluntary Aided Secondary Modern School on 11th September, 1963, by the then Chester City L.E.A. and the Chester Diocese of the Anglican Church. When the School opened on 11th September, 1963, there were 561 pupils on roll and the staff consisted of Head, Deputy, twenty-three qualified assistant teachers and three part-time colleagues. Although this School was officially closed on 31st August, 1972, the last day of term was 19th July. On this date 554 pupils, which included 27 in the 5th year, were enrolled and the teaching staff numbered thirty. When in 1972 Chester re-organised its secondary schools on comprehensive lines, St. Michael's, while retaining its voluntary status, was adapted to a middle school taking pupils between the ages of eight and twelve, although in its first year this School did not have an eight plus intake.

The redesignation of St. Michael's obviously meant basic changes in the School's philosophy and aims as well as far reaching changes in the composition of the staff, but the structure of the buildings remained largely unaltered (Figs.10:1 & 10:2). The main interior alterations were the removal of all furniture and equipment in the Wood and Metal work rooms (Nos. 1 and 3) and one Domestic Science room was converted in to a normal classroom (Room No. 17) Much of the science equipment was transferred to the nearby High School, but the benches were retained. Altogether a sum of £1,500 was allocated for the alterations. As can be seen from the plan on pages 224/5, the building is manifestly "secondary"; a three-storey building imposes considerable constraints upon implementing middle school ideas.

St. Michael's is located on the periphery of a large council housing estate from where it recruits the majority of its pupils, but

Fig.10:1

St. Michael's Middle School

(Ground Floor)

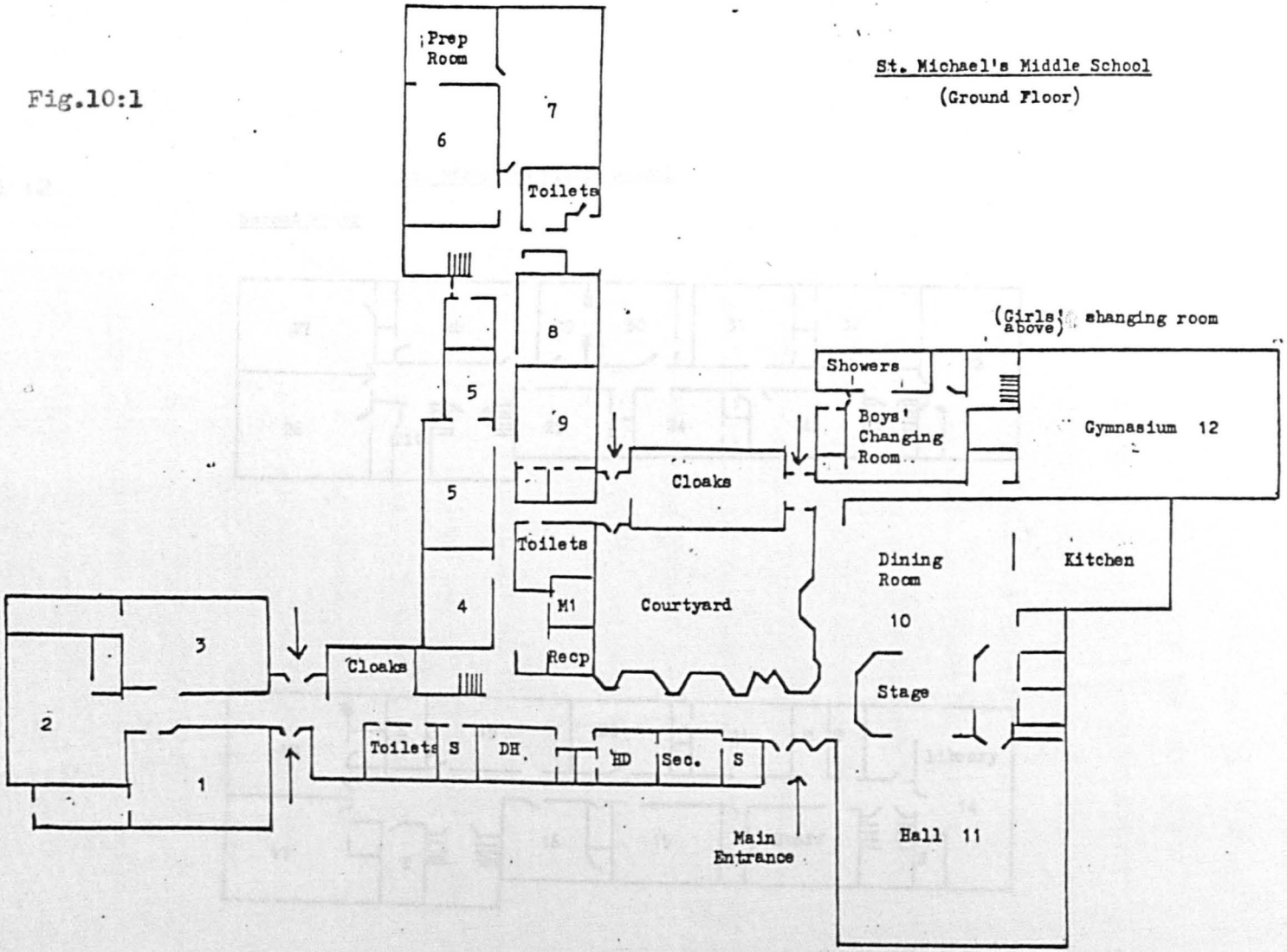
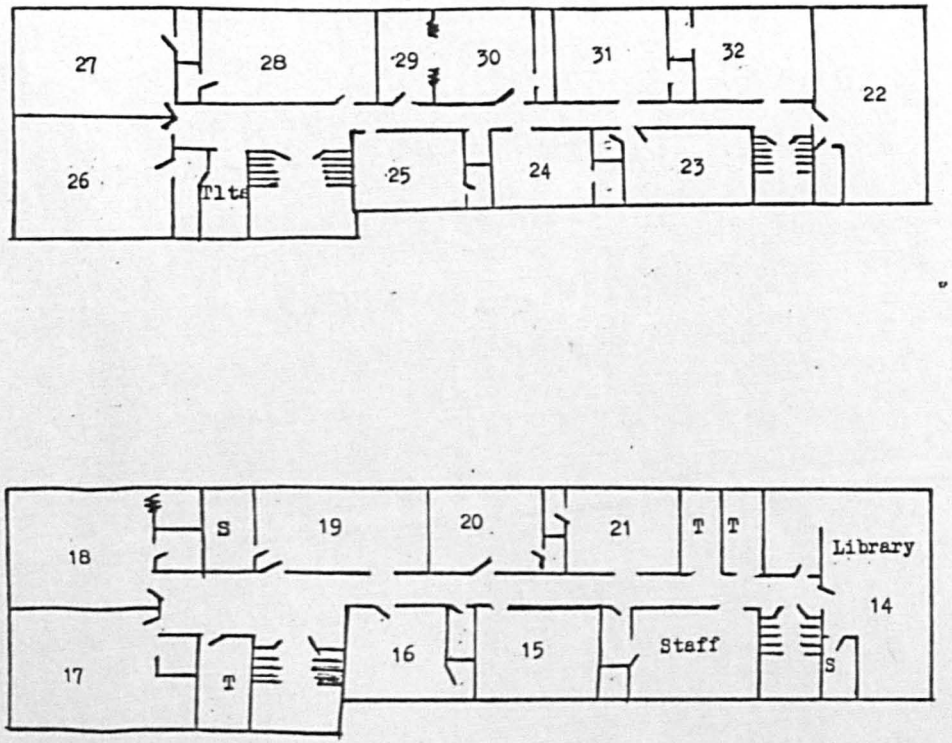


Fig.10:2

St. Michael's Middle School

Second Floor

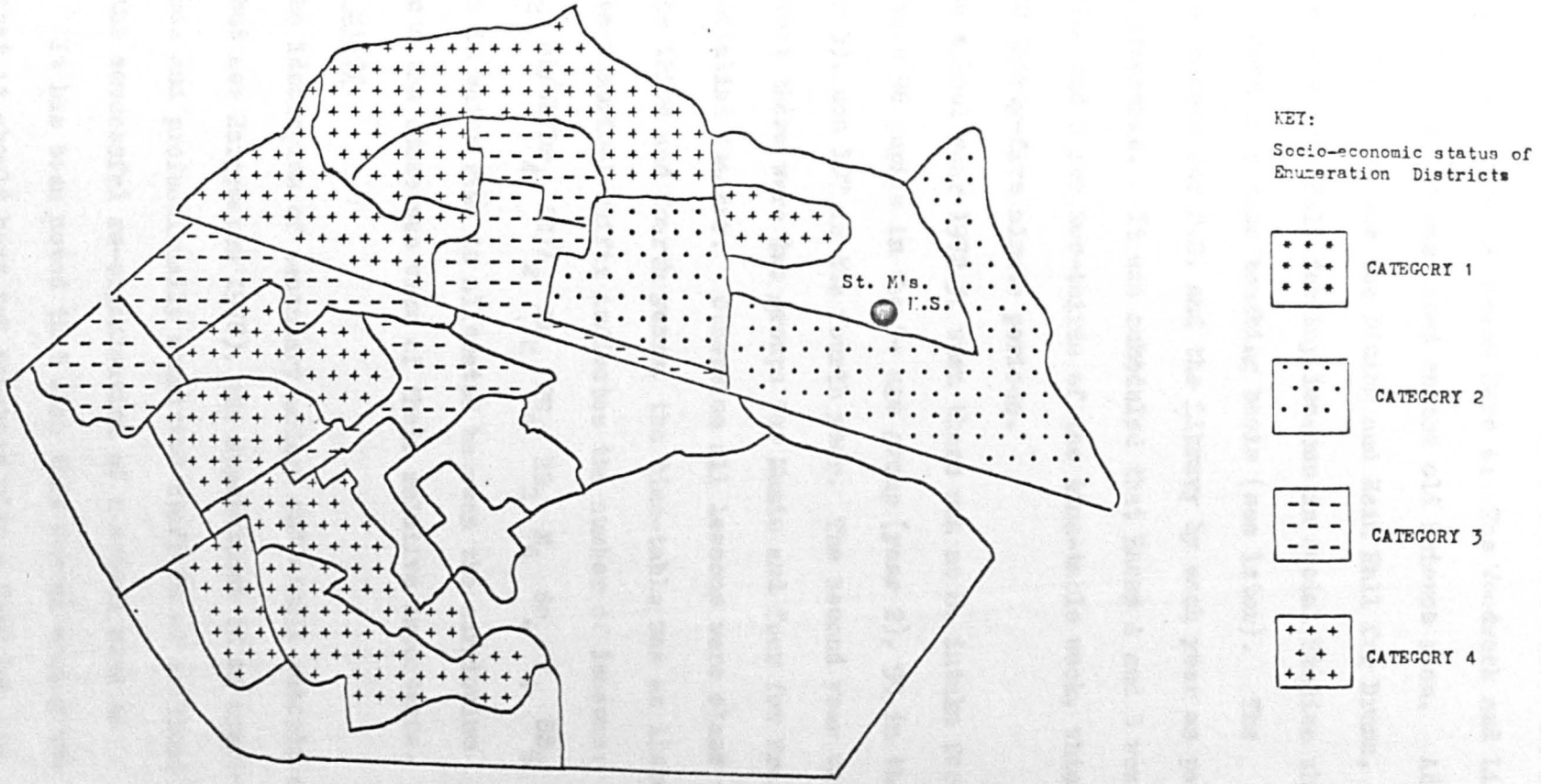


adjacent to this estate there is older owner-occupied accommodation. Because of the School's voluntary status and because the local authority does not enforce a strict "zoning" policy, some pupils live away from the School. The map on page 227 shows the area from which the vast majority of the School's pupils come. Most pupils' fathers are classified as skilled, semi or unskilled workers who earn their living either within the City or in the motor car industry at nearby Ellesmere Port. Within this council estate, unemployment is considerably in excess of the average for the City, 6.1%, and because there are problem families on this estate, this helps to explain why approximately 41% of pupils at St. Michael's are on "free dinners". This single index of the average social status of the catchment area is consistent with the experimental categories used for the residential status of pupils used for the empirical analysis described previously in Chap. 8 and which shows for St. Michael's that no pupils are in category 1, 15% in category 2, and 40% and 45% in categories 3 and 4 respectively.

Theoretical work on social life in institutions has emphasised the constraints which the design of buildings and the physical arrangement of furniture impose upon interpersonal relations (Esland, 1972). Within schools particularly these are significant factors, and the allocation of time is a further dimension which influences teachers' and pupils' perception of what schooling is about; the school time-table is a vital document. The methods by which this time-table is constructed as well as its final form are areas that require analysis if we are to understand fully how a school establishes a sense of identity.

Time-table construction at St. Michael's Middle was initially a co-operative venture between the L.E.A. Advisory Service and the Head-teacher; indeed some twelve months before the School opened as a middle

FIG.10:3 MAIN CATCHMENT AREA OF ST. MICHAEL'S MIDDLE SCHOOL



school, detailed suggestions had been prepared by the L.E.A. First, the former specialist rooms were allocated into three bases: the Needlework and Domestic Science rooms became Base A; The Woodwork and Light Craft rooms Base B, while C was based on the old Science room. Additionally, it was planned to use the Dining and Main Hall for Drama, as well as using the Main Hall for key lessons in Social Studies which were to be developed on a team teaching basis (see later). The Gymnasium would be used for P.E. and the Library by each year as part of the English programme. It was scheduled that Bases A and B would be used full time and C for two-thirds of the time-table week, which consisted of 40 thirty-five minute periods.

During the school year 1972-3, when there was no 8+ intake for Year 1, there were 96 pupils in the 9+ age group (year 2), 90 in the 10+ age group (year 3), and 107 in the fourth year. The second year was structured so that there were two groups for Music and four for French, each with a specialist teacher. Otherwise all lessons were class teacher based. For the third and fourth years, the time-table was as listed below, where the numerical suffix indicates the number of lessons:

E_5 Dr_2 $Nk/Wk/Dr_4$ LC/A_2 Mu_2 PE_4 RE_2 M_6 Sc_4 F_4 SS_5

The proportions in which time is allocated between the curriculum subjects reflects the consensus view of their relative importance.

Appointment of Staff.

Because the ideologies of secondary modern and middle schools are so different (but see Hargreaves 1978), the appointment of an appropriately balanced and professionally committed staff is of critical importance to the successful re-organisation of a school such as St. Michael's. It has been noted that when this School opened the L.E.A. deemed that it should have ten teachers plus a Head for its initial 293 pupils, but it was anticipated that pupil numbers would

grow considerably within the next few years. Because several teachers who were originally appointed to the former secondary modern school chose to stay at St. Michael's when the School became middle, a number of "protected" above basic scale posts were inherited by the new Middle School. This explains why such a smallish Middle School - the average roll for Chester's newly designated middle schools was 310 pupils - had two Scale 4, one Scale 3 and four Scale 2 posts at its inception. In fact, only one of four Scale 2 posts was intentionally allocated by re-organisation. Thus this particular Middle School inherited a distinctive secondary bias in a Local Authority which had chosen "to go eight to twelve".

The Head and five of the ten teachers had been on the staff of the former secondary modern school. Of these, the Deputy Head retired after two terms, one man who had been on a "protected" Scale 4 retired within two years of re-organisation, and two others left, one from teaching altogether, in August 1974. The remaining six of the initial ten members of staff stayed for the four years from 1972 to 1976 during which staff changes at St. Michael's were monitored. Four were men and two women, and their ages ranged from the middle twenties to the early fifties, but their average age was just over forty. Two had both primary and secondary experience, two secondary, and the remaining two primary experience only prior to Chester's re-organisation. By their experience (three had been teaching for over twenty years), position (only one was on the basic scale), and attitude, these teachers were in an important position to direct the development of St. Michael's as a middle school.

To facilitate the planned growth, four new staff were appointed in September 1973. All were women in their early twenties, recently College trained and either having Junior experience or having followed a "middle years" course at College. Each was appointed on Scale 1.

Of these four appointments one stayed less than a year, one just two years, and the other two stayed until 1976. Perhaps it is pertinent to note that in the twelve months after re-organisation the only middle management post, that of Deputy Head, went to a man with predominantly secondary experience, although, as will be shown, he professes a middle school identity. Whether or not this initial appointment strategy, either in terms of the appointees' experience or personality, was of significance to the development of St. Michael's remains problematic. Other management studies (Clarendon, 1976) have noted the failure of "external change agents" to initiate change at an early date. Whatever the conjecture, it is important to emphasise that when a Head of First Year was appointed in April 1974, initially on a Scale 3 and then internally promoted to Scale 4, she had over ten years' junior experience.

During 1974 seven new staff appointments were made, including the Head of First Year referred to above. Three of the remaining six had primary experience only, two were probationers and one had secondary and middle school experience. Three were men and three women. Their average age was twenty-four; four possessed teaching certificates, one was a B.Ed. graduate and one possessed an arts degree with a P.G.C.E., and their average teaching experience was just over three years. Only the Head of First Year was teaching at this School after 1976; two resigned within a year - one with six years' experience and the other a probationer, while the remaining four stayed until 1976.

By now a clear appointment policy was emerging. Young staff in their middle twenties, either with predominantly short junior experience or probationary teachers whose College courses focussed upon the "middle years" were the norm. Understandably the Governors' intention was to appoint a young enthusiastic staff who could be inducted into the middle school ideology. It would seem though, 1974 did not bring the stability and commitment required, but subsequent appointments

in 1975 and 1976 have appeared more successful. In profile the nine appointments for 1975 and 1976 were little different: five were probationers, two of whom were graduates, and two had taught in secondary and primary schools for more than five years. All were women and, with one exception, all stayed for more than one year.

It is difficult to ascertain precisely why the staffing situation became more stable. There is no significant difference between the resignations of men or women, or those on basic scale or above posts. Although the staff changes at St. Michael's were not numerically high, they were above the average for Chester's middle schools overall. The analysis of the School's catchment area has shown that St. Michael's has a disproportionate share of semi- and un-skilled manual workers and of council housing for Chester as a whole, and traditionally schools in such environments have found it difficult to hold staff (Half Our Future, 1963). Certainly the ex-secondary staff who remained at the School, initially did not enthuse at the changed status of St. Michael's, but re-organisation brought more specific and different responsibility and opportunity for them. Time is essential for acceptance of and adaptation to new roles. Of course, 1975 saw the number of teaching vacancies generally severely reduced. Those who wanted to move simply could not. Thus one positive consequence for St. Michael's, as for many schools of different types, of surplus teachers could well be staff involvement and commitment which direct appointment policy apparently failed to achieve.

Some Staff Perceptions.

For theoretical reasons (Blumer, 1969; Lacey, 1977) and operational expediency, it was decided to explore the perceptions of teachers in the St. Michael's and Rowland Hutty Middle Schools by means of a structured interview, rather than the use of questionnaires and attitude scales. The main purpose of these interviews was to explore the perceptions of

teachers working in these two middle schools and to assess the extent to which they concurred or disagreed in their definition of significant issues in their respective schools. The interview schedule used for this purpose is given as Appendix 3 . Inevitably the writer could only interview a sample of teachers in the two schools. This sample chosen on subjective grounds, included the Heads and Deputies of both schools as well as staff who had served in the same buildings prior to re-organisation and those who had been appointed after the schools had become middle. This procedure ensured that staff of both sexes as well as senior and junior colleagues were represented.

It has been explained above that the Headmaster of St. Michael's, Mr. A., was formerly the Head of the Voluntary Aided Secondary Modern School, to which he had been appointed in 1969 at the age of 43. According to local authority records, he had been teaching for twenty-one years in secondary schools. In addition to his Teaching Certificate, he had studied for and was awarded in 1965 the D.A.S.E. of the University of Nottingham. Mr. A. expressed considerable reservations at the changed status of his School. He maintained, and this contention is confirmed in Ch.6 , that "the actual situation concerning re-organisation evolved before I came here" and "I was not told of the possible change (of school status) at my interview." In his opinion, Chester's re-organisation, which he saw as a response to the Plowden Report, was "purely on organisational grounds." Other evidence (see Ch. 6) shows that the majority of staff of the former secondary modern school favoured a 9-13 system, but the primary Heads in the Chester authority wanted 8-12. Thus the arguments which were central to the national debate on middle schools were focussed intensely in St. Michael's at the beginning.

In any analysis of schools, it is trite - but nonetheless true - to assert that the ethos and "climate" of a school derives largely from the Head-teacher. Mr. A. did not see that the change in designation of St. Michael's from secondary modern to middle affected his role as

Head significantly. In answer to Q 26, Mr. A. gave an unequivocal "yes", and added that whereas as Secondary Head "he tended to see more of the successful and difficult pupils", now "he was seeing more of the parents" which he considered to be "a compensation for the loss of contact with the College of F.E. and careers advisers" which he valued. To Mr. A. his most important task remained (Q4) "that of co-ordinator of staff expertise" and still an essential skill "was the ability to listen to your teachers." Certainly he did not perceive any changed status for himself (Q22): "No. I'm still a Head" and again the point was made concerning the loss of contact with post-compulsory provision. Upon re-organisation (Q9) Mr. A. said that he was offered the Deputy's job in one of the High Schools, but this he declined; "I came as a Secondary Head..... When you have been a Head and been responsible for making decisions it's difficult to change. Status is high in decision making." "To know what is going on and the readiness to delegate" were further tasks that Mr. A. regarded as important (Q6), as well as close collaboration with the Deputy (Q7). The answers to these questions concerning the role of Headship were given quietly and with conviction; they reflect a typical "secondary" perspective.

When discussing the rhetoric of middle schools, Mr. A. was very familiar with the main stream arguments. In his view the emphasis should be on middle years rather than middle schools (Q7). He was flexible on the requirements of middle school teachers (Q12): "There is no hard and fast rule. Personal characteristics are as important as degrees. Degrees are valuable in middle schools, but only if they are based on education." (Mr. A.'s emphasis). But specialist teachers are vital to middle schools (Q13), especially as "teacher advisers" and Craft, Science and Music (Q14) require specific teacher expertise in the class-room. The importance of the child is a central concept in his rationale : "a good infant teacher is most important." (Q 11), "No, the development

of the child as a person is the essential thing." (Q15). That there is perhaps a hint of inconsistency between Mr. A.'s perception of Headship and his views on the status of the pupil is illustrated by his answer to Q16: "No, because if we're honest we're examining them all the time - we give them reading tests and so on. We do have figures which we send to the High School, but we're unsure on how they are used." Similarly, the autonomy of the person did not appear to be top priority when I was making arrangements to interview staff; they were told by the Head when they would see me!

Mr. B., the Deputy, was appointed in May 1973 at the age of 31. He qualified as a teacher in 1964 and before coming to St. Michael's he had taught for eight years, mostly in a grammar school, but also for a couple of years in a 9-13 middle school. In answer to Q's 8 and 18, Mr. B. replied "My first middle school was a gamble. I was in a grammar school taking mainly the 11-13 age group. I was sick of the examination system and sick of the same syllabus year after year. There were no great promotional opportunities and I wanted to break into something new. My first move was for promotion, but for very little money." Certainly Mr. B. was specific on how he saw his role: "I must accept that I'm beyond the point of saying that teaching is the most important. I wonder how I can phrase this. Perhaps under a nebulous heading. I want to ensure that every child and every member of staff is producing the most within their ability. I act as a co-ordinator of staff activities." The Deputy, Mr. B., considers that his Head "sees it (his role) more as an administrative position" and acknowledges (Q6) that some other tasks "are of low priority such as filling in forms and circulars. They are chores, but at the same time I recognise that they are necessary."

The Head and Deputy of St. Michael's share some perceptions in

common, particularly about the rhetoric of middle schools: (Mr. B.) "Basically it (the middle school) projects an image of a new educational institution.... It is a challenge, and is a straddle. Our role here is to phase changes from the primary system to come in line with secondary teaching", and like his Head-teacher he emphatically rejected the suggestion that middle schools should specifically prepare pupils for the High School. Both declare a high regard for infant teachers. Concerning the perceived role of Headship, Mr. A. and Mr. B. appear to hold much in common. According to Mr. B., "Management of staff is central.... He (the Head) has to be a leader, but style must be democratic rather than autocratic..... he must be able to manage people and get the best out of them: he must be able to delegate. Public relations are important. Some might say he should be a good teacher, I am thinking so less and less, but he should come from a teaching background." This agreement, though, is limited: Mr. A. adjudges the role of headship to be similar in any type of school (Q26) while the Deputy is of the view that this role is derivative of the philosophy of the type of school and, as indicated, that of the middle school in particular. Whether the Head and Deputy <u>really</u> hold a child centred view of schooling is problematic: Mr. A. regretted the abolition of selection at eleven, while Mr. B. welcomed its passing.

That there are differences in perceived aims and roles is to be expected, but that there are serious disagreements as to <u>what</u> is happening at St. Michael's requires further analysis. For example, in answer to Q20 concerning team teaching, Mr. A. replied enthusiastically, "Oh yes, very much so! The whole years are involved", while the Deputy maintained "that it is not possible in this School, which is essentially a secondary school and the classes are cut up into boxes". This view was supported by Mr. C. who is Head of Fourth Year and is one of the ex-secondary modern staff who has taught in the School for

many years: "We have done, but it doesn't go down well. We pay lip service to it in Environmental Studies..... we meet, pick on a subject, decide what is going to be done, and then go our own way.... (Team Teaching) is all right if it suits you. It does lose a lot of individuality and standards are being eroded. I still like to chose, after all we are employed as professionals to make our own decisions." Mrs. D., who is also a long serving teacher at the School, is similarly less than enthusiastic: "Well if you can count what we do in environmental studies. Four teachers muck in together, but its not strictly team teaching..... Any team is only as good as its weakest link, and we have some weak links here." Only Mrs. E., the Head of First Year, who was appointed in April 1974, was positive towards team teaching; "When you say team teaching.... we have co-operation in the first year and we do work as a team. We have a basic outline for most subjects, then its left to the individual, but we do come together fairly frequently." Mr. F., who allegedly contributed to the Aristedes column of the Times Educational Supplement concerning life at St. Michael's, was terse in his answer, "No." The difference in commitment towards team teaching between ex-secondary and new staff and between first and fourth year teachers was marked. Two members of staff articulated this problem when discussing the position of specialist teachers in the middle school: "In this School there are two completely separate and different groups, the first and second, and third and fourth year groups. They are so different, it's quite remarkable" and "This is where this School falls down. The first and second years are junior, the third and fourth years are secondary. Specialism should extend throughout all four years. The specialists should act as advisers and co-ordinators."

The Head and Deputy also appraise differently the modes of assessment practised in the School. The Head felt that examining pupils formally at the end of the middle school programme would not hinder his general aim "because if we're honest we're examining them all the time",

but his Deputy regarded such a procedure as very undesirable. Both Head and Deputy felt that there are fewer adjustment problems when pupils change from first to middle, than from primary to secondary, and this view, with one exception, was shared by all staff interviewed, although no-one commented on the circumstances of transfer, viz. that the whole of an age cohort enter at eight plus, rather than a group of "failures" under a selective procedure at eleven plus.

No member of staff was enthusiastic about St. Michael's as a middle school. Mr. C. and Mrs. D. who had been appointed from the secondary modern school regretted the change: "If a system is working well leave it alone, you only upset the teachers.... A generation of children have been upset and will never be the same", and Mrs. E. appointed from outside the authority saw the School as "middle" "only in the sense that we deal with the middle years of education." To her this School has no particular identity. Others, Mr. F. and Mrs. G. particularly, were more outspoken: "I did come with an image, but I've lost it. That's possibly because of disillusionment" and "This is where this School falls down, there are two completely separate and different groups." The influence of senior staff who have had change forced upon them and who are still working in an essentially secondary building is understandably persistent, and it is hardly surprising that newer staff have found it difficult to translate theory and ideas into practice. Mrs. G. called for "a lot more communication than there is here" and at the date of interview she had been on the staff for three years. Most staff wanted a wide range of specialist teachers, especially in the third and fourth years, and several called for more formal examinations (Q15). "We don't work them hard enough" and "I would prefer to give one (a yearly examination in English).... it gives a sense of direction."

The differences in emphasis for years one and two, and for three and four is a recurring theme. The Head of Fourth Year stressed that "it is most important to act as a guide into the High School" and he

felt that his "Boss" shared his view; Mrs. D. saw "calming the fourth year girls down" as her main challenge, while Mr. F. and Mrs. G. expressed concern with personal relationships as well as "getting the class together as a unit." That Mr. C. and Mrs. D. believed their Head-teacher to share their definition of the situation perhaps reflects thair collaboration before re-organisation; that several more recent staff felt that he did not, supports the earlier comment concerning communication. The comments of Mr. F. and Mrs. G. are illuminating: "I feel that he wants everything to be as painless to him as possible. He wants discipline and order, but perhaps that is because of the size of the School and the difficulty that the building gives - too big." "He likes to think the School is running well. That's all I need to say" (respondent's emphasis), and the Head of First Year, Mrs. E. simply said "No" to Q5.

Earlier in this study it was asserted that one of the arguments in favour of middle schools was that older pupils would be more mature than if they were in the lower forms of a secondary high school. Question 19 on the interview schedule was designed to elicit the responses of teachers to this suggestion. Here too, there was no agreement. Understandably the Head-teacher, Mr. A., found "it very difficult to think back three or four years to what was a totally different situation", but his impression was that "when the child enters the secondary, they (sic) tend to be more reserved in the new school." His Deputy maintained that, "Certainly they are freer here and so adopt more responsibility because they are not treated as children at the bottom end." Mr. C., the Head of Fourth Year, replied "No, not really", but added "I've never taken first year secondary." Mrs. D. was more convinced that middle schools did help pupils to mature. In her view, "they (the eleven year olds) are much more babyish in the first year at secondary school." By contrast, Mrs. E., the Head of First Year, who

remember had previously over ten years' junior experience, felt that in this respect middle schools made no difference at all. Mr. E's comment is much fuller and more illuminating in several respects :

> "There is a lot of differences. Within my own experience I saw the child in the first year of primary as more mature, conformed far more. It's not so much the area, but more an attitude of the two schools. It doesn't highlight a difference in philosophies, just a difference in schools. It seems to me that here they said, 'There's a school, let's call it middle! I see failure here."

This reply alludes to the catchment area, which is essentially a working class council estate, and the reasons for "going middle". Neither issue was appropriate to the eliciting question (Q19), but Mr. E. in nearly his answers is anxious to detail the "failure" at St. Michael's. Certainly many of the staff do explain the facts as they see them in terms of the area and the inappropriate status of the School. The extent to which these structural issues are used to mask a possible conflict of personality and values with the Head-teacher must remain surmise.

On the issue of their professional status (Q's 22 and 23) after re-organisation, St. Michael's staff did express greater unanimity. Most felt that their status had not been "impaired", but generally they believed that the public accorded higher status to the teacher of older children. In response to Q.30, all teachers felt that middle school re-organisation was simply one aspect of wider educational change, but that such change is making it both more necessary and more difficult for teachers to be accountable.

To explain the conflicts and contradictions within the staff at St. Michael's solely in terms of personality would be erroneous; to deny that they play any part in the expression of different perceptions

would be equally mistaken. In most institutions such conflicts occur, but in this School the inevitable tensions between "old " and "new" staff appear to have persisted while the first generation of children passed through this middle school. As other studies have shown, the form of interaction is constrained by the design of the building; in this respect St. Michael's remains unmistakably "secondary". Formal communication between Head and staff remained for some time on a departmental wavelength, and more recently appointed staff found a disjunction between their understanding of "middle school theory" and everyday practice. But the disenchantment of staff is not confined to that expressed by recent appointees. They, too, may have been rigid in their adherence to a "primary" model; to note the limitations imposed by the building and then use this as a justification to work within the conventional classroom setting and with first or second years only has helped to maintain the semi-permeable membrane between upper and lower school which they criticise. Appointment policy seems to be at the crux of the problem. When the local authority gave serving teachers the choice to opt for preferred positions in the new three tier system, this explicitly met many <u>personal</u> preferences; others stayed in the former schools for <u>personal</u>reasons, perhaps as a less unpalatable choice between two evils. Understandable concern for personal preference may well have been incompatible with <u>institutional</u> needs. Attitudes embodied in the answer "No - not at my age" do not easily facilitate corporate innovation.

Time is an essential ingredient of any balanced appraisal of educational change. Perhaps a four year period is too short for St. Michael's ? In 1975/6 the rapid contraction of teacher vacancies meant that some unhappy teachers who would have liked to move could not. In Merton's terms (Denisoff et als, 1975), adaptation to this conflict could take the form of conformity, retreatism, rebellion,

ritualism or innovation. Several of these responses can be identified within St. Michael's and ideally a "follow-up" should now take place almost seven years after re-organisation. But now the discussion centres on whether St. Michael's will remain middle for much longer. Falling rolls in the authority are necessitating a review of the structure of school provision in Chester.

The Rowland Hutty Middle School.

Before re-organisation on 1st September, 1968, the Rowland Hutty Middle School was a co-educational secondary modern school. The design, fabric and size was typical of many post-war non-selective secondary schools. The main building (see Fig.10:4) is a two storey construction which contains the usual offices for school administration, a hall, kitchen as well as specialist and general classrooms. Additional to the main building there is an annexe and a two classroom mobile, Fig.10:5. The annexe, which was originally designed mainly for domestic science and girls' P.E., is a self contained building with its own hall, kitchen and toilets etc. The total teaching area of the school is 28,590 square feet, and for 540 pupils, this gives an overall average teaching area of 53 square feet per pupil. For pupils aged ten to thirteen years this is considerably in excess of the prescribed M.T.A. (see Ch. 4 p. 67). The Rowland Hutty Middle School, then, inherited buildings and facilities which were definitely "secondary" oriented in a way very similar to those at St. Michael's, Chester.

The Rowland Hutty Middle School had presented problems to the Authority in its original re-organisation proposals. As the figures given in the paragraph above indicate, quite simply it was too big for a single middle school. It will be remembered that in Ch. 5 , D.E.S. officials noted that they had no experience from which to draw concerning the optimum size for middle schools, but their hunch was that four form entry was about right. Quite easily the Rowland Hutty Middle School could accommodate an eight form entry.

Because of its size, the original proposal was to divide the Rowland Hutty Secondary Modern School into two separate schools. As can be seen from 10:4 & 10:5 on pp 243/4 , already the school consisted

Fig. 10:4

The Rowland Hutty Middle School

Main Building

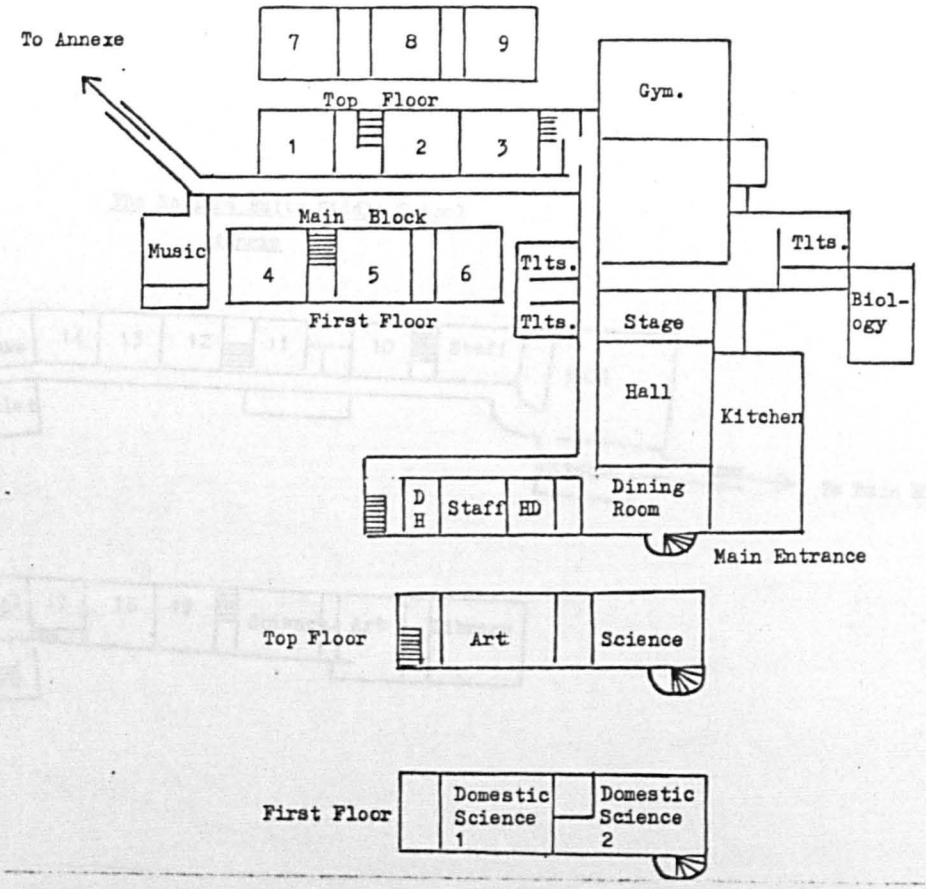
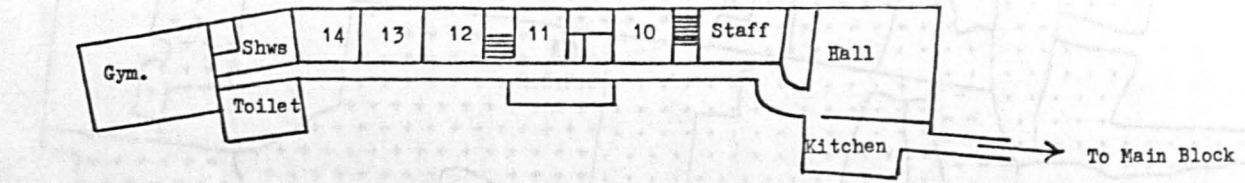


Fig. 10:5

The Rowland Hutty Middle School

Annexe



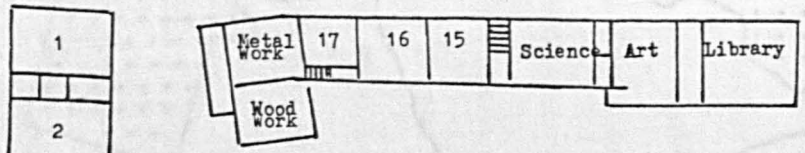
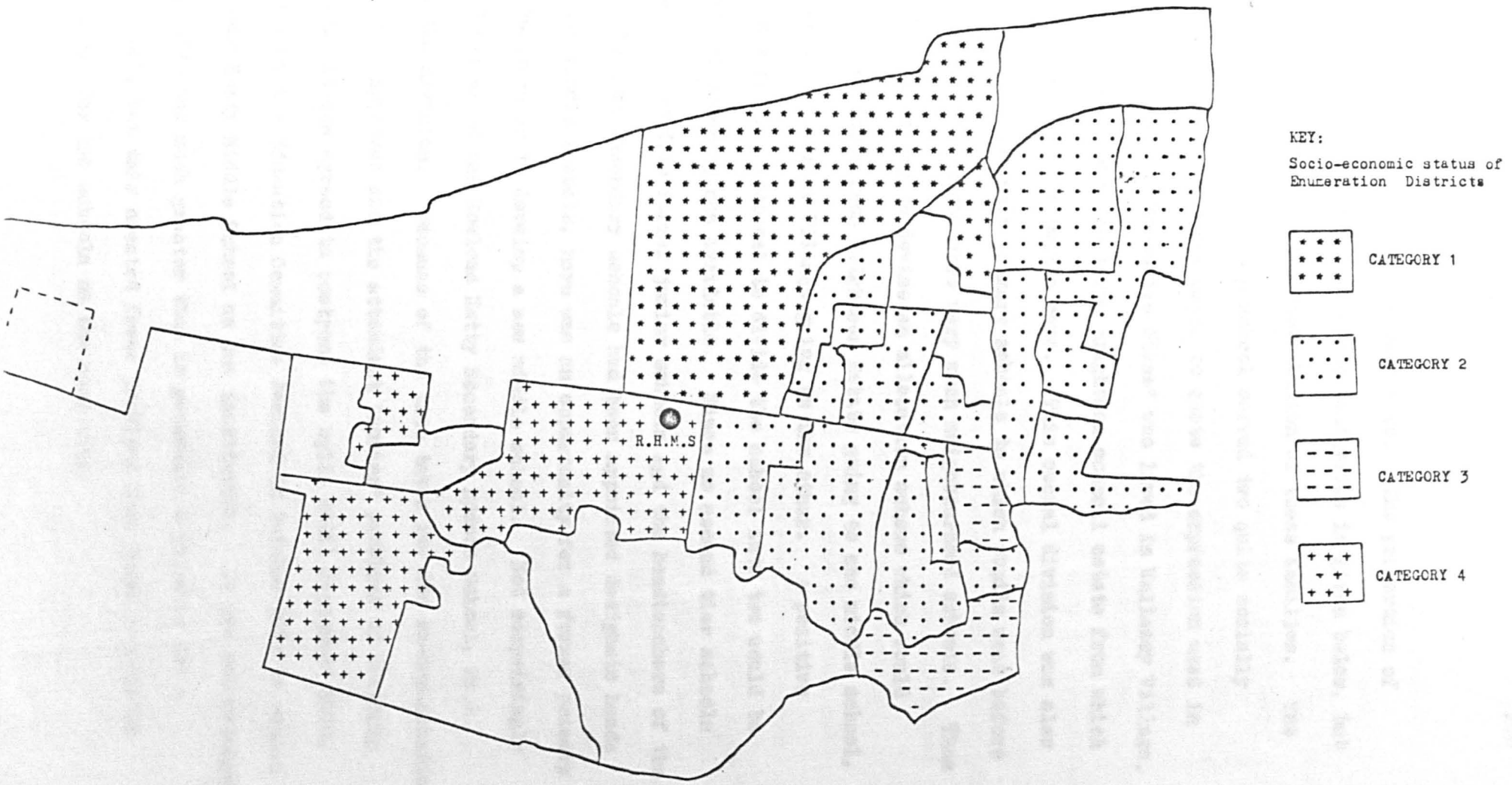


FIG. 10:6 MAIN CATCHMENT AREA OF THE ROWLAND HUTTY MIDDLE SCHOOL



of two separate buildings on the same site. The proportion of parents in the various socio-economic categories is given below, but the immediate problem was the distribution of these families. The Rowland Hutty Secondary Modern School served two quite socially distinct areas. On the one hand, to quote the expression used in "the Office", was the "executive class" who lived in Wallasey Village, while on the other was the large Brightsea council estate from which nearly one third of the pupils came. This social division was also reflected in the two main primary schools to which pupils went before the age of eleven; these were very much neighbourhood schools. Thus it would be necessary to devise an allocation scheme which would prevent the children from Brightsea Estate going to one middle school, and those from Wallasey Village going to the other. A positive consequence of this proposal to divide the school into two would be that another headship was available. Since no second tier schools had been created from former junior schools and the headteachers of the ex non-selective secondary schools had been appointed designate heads to the new middle schools, here was an opportunity for a former primary school headteacher to develop a new middle school. Not surprisingly the Headteacher of the Rowland Hutty Secondary Modern School, Mr.Z. , opposed the division. Because of the time taken for the re-organisation scheme to be approved and the attendant "zoning" problems of dividing the school, it was agreed to postpone the split until September 1970. In the event, the Education Committee decided in October 1969 to retain the Rowland Hutty Middle School as one institution. It was acknowledged that the size was much greater than is generally acceptable for a middle school, but this created fewer problems than those associated with "zoning" for two schools on the same site.

When this study was begun in 1974, the Rowland Hutty Middle School had a socially mixed pupil intake. Using the same experimental categories as described previously, 15% of pupils in Category 1; 42% in Category 2, with 22% in Categories 3 and 4 (the remainder are in Category 5, for which no index of socio-economic status could be obtained). 13.6% of pupils are on "free dinners", and when all schools in Wirral are ranked on this criterion, the Rowland Hutty Middle School is in mid position. It will be remembered that St. Michael's has three times the proportion on free meals.

The significance of the time-table to the school as an institution has been commented on earlier. The time-table which was constructed for the Rowland Hutty School in September 1972, and in principle maintained since then, reflected the broad curricular decisions made by the Head Teacher and a small committee of eight senior colleagues who represented "departmental" interests. These decisions were made in the context of staffing information earlier provided by the L.E.A. (Wallasey Miscellaneous Papers, 1/70). The first decision made was to organise the pupils into two broad bands, each consisting of four forms, and additionally to provide one remedial group in each year. After the first year, there would be a "definite move" towards specialisation which would "culminate in the last year" (Wallasey Miscellaneous Papers, 1/70).

Before re-organisation the L.E.A.'s staffing ratio had been 33.2:1 for primary and 22.6:1 for secondary schools. In the new middle schools the first year pupils, the ten plus, would be staffed at the former primary ratio, and years two and three, i.e. the eleven and twelve plus, at 22.6:1. This meant that the Rowland Hutty Middle School should have 5.4 teachers for the first year (180 pupils at 33.2 per teacher) and 16.7 teachers for the 360 pupils in years two

and three. According to these calculations the school should have had a pupil-teacher ratio of 22: 1, but because of the Local Authority's deferrment to staff wishes for place of employment upon re-organisation, the actual ratio at the Rowland Hutty School was 19.6:1, and this it was fortunate to maintain. Thus from its inception the School had a particularly favourable staffing ratio, which effectively provided it with three and half "surplus" teachers, and, as will be explained, a very stable staff.

Although staff responsibilities were largely defined on a "subject" basis inherited from the pre-1968 situation, the Head Teacher, Mr. Z, was anxious to initiate from an early date after re-organisation curricular integration and team teaching in a substantial area of the curriculum. The structure in which these ideas were to be implemented can be seen within the school time-table for 1972-3.

Year 1.

Band 1	:	M_6	F_4	Sc_2	A/C_4	Hum_{18}	PeG_4	Mu_2	T_{40}
Band 2	:	M_6	F_4	Sc_2	A/C_4	Hum_{18}	PeG_4	Mu_2	T_{40}
Remedial	:	M_6	F_0	Sc_2	A/C_4	Hum_{22}	PeG_4	Mu_2	T_{40}

English, History, Geography and R.E. do not appear as subjects, but are grouped under the title Humanities. Within the eighteen periods per week, the class teacher is expected to develop a particular theme, such as "power" or "frontiers", for example. The remedial group follow a similar time-table, except that French is replaced by "extra English".

In year two, the "definite move" towards specialisation appears. English, History, Geography and R.E. appear as separate subjects. There is a marginally different time allocation to these subjects between forms, and more noticeable between bands :

Year 2.

Band 1 : E_8 M_6 F_4 Sc_3 A/C_4 H_2 Geo_2 Hum_3 RE_2 PeG_4 Mu_2 :T_{40}

Band 2 : E_6 M_6 F_3 Sc_3 A/C_4 H_2 Geo_3 Hum_5 RE_2 PeG_4 Mu_2 :T_{40}

Remedial : E_9 M_6 F_0 Sc_3 A/C_4 H_2 Geo_2 Hum_5 RE_2 PeG_4 Mu_2 :T_{40}

Forms in Band 2 receive one period less per week for French, as well as fewer periods of English and more Humanities. Integration, it seems, is more appropriate for the less able groups. Additionally in Band 1, one form takes four periods of German per week at the expense of English.

Year 3.

In year three, the same pattern is maintained :

Band 1 : E_8 M_6 F_4 Sc_4 A/C_6 H_2 Geo_2 Hum_0 RE_2 PeG_4 Mu_2 :T_{40}

Band 2 : E_8 M_6 F_3 Sc_4 A/C_6 H_2 Geo_2 Hum_1 RE_2 PeG_4 Mu_2 :T_{40}

Remedial : E_{10} M_6 F_0 Sc_4 A/C_6 H_2 Geo_2 Hum_2 RE_2 PeG_4 Mu_2 :T_{40}

Again in Band 1, one form takes four periods per week of German with the loss of three periods of English and one of R.E.

In years two and three, most subjects are taught by "specialists", although several teachers teach more than one subject. First year pupils have "specialist" teachers for Maths, Science, French, P.E. and Music, but Humanities is taught on a class teacher basis.

Pupils as well as teachers are allocated to specific rooms. The form bases for pupils are distributed systematically within the building (see Fig.10:4) first and second year pupils are based in the main building, with the third year pupils occupying the annexe. Chapter 9 has shown that pupils are sensitive to these organisational arrangements.

Staffing.

When the Rowland Hutty Secondary Modern School became a provisional Ten-Thirteen Middle School, eighteen of the thirty-six members of staff of the former Eleven-Fifteen (and, of course, there was a voluntary

fifth year option for G.C.E. and C.S.E. examinations) school remained to form the full staff complement for the new middle school. Of these eighteen only four had previous experience as primary school teachers. Their average age was 47, and the average teaching experience nearly nineteen years. The youngest member of staff was 29, and with one exception, no colleague had been teaching for less then nine years. When this review was completed in August 1976, thirteen of the original eighteen were still on the school staff, and of the four leavers, two had retired. Mr. Z. had become Head of the Secondary Modern School in 1947 and continued in charge of the Middle School until his retirement in August. 1979. Any analysis of this school must not underestimate the very stable staffing situation, which at the time of this survey was the exception rather than the rule. This very low teacher turn-over is related both to the Head Teacher's charismatic personality and his ability to maintain within the 10-13 context a teacher identity similar to that which the staff had known before re-organisation. At the same time we shall see that he had to try and persuade some of his colleagues to embark on curricular programmes for which they were less than enthusiastic.

Even more than St. Michael's, the Rowland Hutty Middle School was staffed by teachers whose commitment was decidedly secondary. These initial resources of plant and personnel were embodied in the organisational structure of the nascent middle school whose time-table has just been described. "Deemed Secondary" and initially graded Group 7, the School had a Deputy Head, a Senior Mistress holding a Scale 4 allowance, four teachers with Scale 3 and four with Scale 2 posts, with the seven remaining members of staff on the basic scale. These Scale 3 and 4 posts carried subject responsibilities. By September 1976 the School had been re-graded to Group 8 because of its increased roll,

but it was, and still is, a provisional 10-13 school, similar to all the Ex-Wallasey middle schools. These now co-exist with the 8-12 second tier middle schools in the Wirral L.E.A. which was created by local government re-organisation in 1974.

In September 1976, the staff totalled thirty, and the above basic scale allowances (post Houghton) were as follows : four Scale 3; eleven Scale 2; with the same number, eleven, on the basic scale. At that date one Scale 3 post was allocated to the Head of First Year, Mr. U., who had joined the School as a probationer in 1970, and a second Scale 3 post was held by the Head of Third Year (and Geography), Mrs. V., who also had joined the staff as a new teacher in 1956. (This person incidentally is to become the new Deputy in September, 1979). With the exception of the two Deputies in 1976, all the above basic scale payments carried departmental responsibility.

The stability of staffing since re-organisation has meant that the number of new full-time appointments to this School have been relatively few for its large size as a middle school, but with the increase in group size from seven to eight it is possible to discern an emerging pattern in teacher biographies. Two full-time appointments were made in 1970 which were the first since the school's re-designation. One was a (male) probationer, Mr. U., who has stayed at the School, and the second a man in his early fifties who was a long serving Wallasey teacher with nine years junior experience in his twenty-two years service with the Authority. He, too, was appointed on Scale 1. In the following year two ladies were appointed, one a probationer and the other had taught in both primary and secondary schools within the Authority since she qualified. Their ages were 41 and 28 respectively. The increased size of the school roll and two teacher resignations facilitated seven full-time appointments in 1973; four women and three

men. With the one exception of a twenty-six year old lady who had taught for four years in a nearby Wallasey middle school and was appointed to a Scale 2 post, the remaining six started on Scale 1. Of these six, four were probationers, two of whom were graduates with post-graduate teaching certificates. The remaining two teachers of the 1973 appointees had, respectively, four years junior and miscellaneous supply experience. The average age of these seven teachers was twenty-six. Few significant staff changes occurred netween 1974 and 1976. When the female Deputy retired in 1974, she was replaced by an internal promotion (now the female Head designate for September, 1979); also three other staff were promoted internally. two to Scale 3 and one to Scale 2 posts. The reasons for the two resignations in 1974 were domestic: a pregnancy and husband moving jobs. Again these two departures were replaced by a probationer, and a young lady with four years' primary experience.

This low rate of teacher turnover was continued in 1975 with only two resignations. Both ladies had been at the School for four and two years respectively. Again they were replaced by probationers. Additionally in 1975 two other newcomers joined the staff: another probationer and a lady with four years' secondary experience within the Authority. Two of the 1975 appointees had degrees and the average age for these new teachers in 1975 was twenty-six. 1976 saw the retirement of the male Deputy (Mr. Y.) who had been at the School since 1958, and the one Scale 2 teacher appointed in January 1975 resigned the following April in order to have a baby: Mrs. R. is one of the very few tenured appointments who was a short stayer ! The replacements for these two resignations were once more probationers, with the Scale 2 allowance being allocated to an existing member of staff. One of these probationers, though, did not have his appointment confirmed because he failed the resit of his College examinations.

These staff changes can be summarised briefly : in September 1976 thirteen of the thirty staff at the Rowland Hutty Middle School had taught there prior to its re-organisation, and all these "originals" were on posts above the basic scale. The two deputies, the one Scale 4 and the four Scale 3 allowances were all held by former teachers at the Secondary Modern School. Of those who were appointed between 1970 and 1973, with one exception, all were on Scale 2. "Loyalty" is rewarded financially. Inevitably much younger teachers have succeeded those colleagues who have retired. As at St. Michael's, the majority have been probationers, but unlike the Chester School where middle school expertise has been brought in, at the Rowland Hutty School, this experience is confined to the Local Authority. Thus no teacher within the survey period has been appointed to this School with experience of middle schools in Local Authorities other than the former boroughs of Wallasey and Birkenhead. This observation is not applicable to all Wallasey schools however : several appointments to Headships and Deputies have been made from outside the Authority, notably the West Riding of Yorkshire. The importance of the West Riding connection, both to the emergence of middle schools generally and Wallasey in particular has been noted earlier. This is one example of the diffusion network in operation.

Staff Perceptions.

It has been noted earlier that Mr. Z. became Head Teacher of the Rowland Hutty Secondary Modern School at the age of thirty-three in September, 1947, shortly after his demobilisation from the forces. Mr. Z. qualified as a teacher in 1934 and taught for five years before joining the army at the outbreak of World War Two. From the age of twenty when he qualified, Mr. Z. has been a "committed teacher" (Q2). Irrespective of the type of school in which teachers work (Q3, Q6),

Mr. Z. was insistent that "the social aspect of education should be considered before the academic ..... The teacher who is not concerned about the social goal will not attain the academic ones."

In Mr. Z.'s opinion the adoption of middle schools in Wallasey (Q9), enabled the introduction of non-selective education at an early date without substantial expense. He welcomed "the removal of the spectre of the eleven plus" (Q28) and in the early days (i.e. 1969-72) he believed that Sir Fred Hutty's vision for middle schools was consistent with his commitment to "free and positive" approaches to teaching. During a long discussion Mr. Z. quoted enthusiastically from papers at the Warwick Conference (1967) which helped to launch middle schools.

Questions 20 and 21 on the Interview Schedule proved to be some of the most sensitive and stimulating. In addition to his verbal comments, Mr. Z. provided extensive documentation which covered a five year period in the School's history. The Head Teacher used this issue of team teaching to illustrate his general views on middle school curricula and pedagogy, as well as the difficulties which he encountered in trying to persuade colleagues to innovate. An early memorandum, dated 30th October, 1969, stressed the need for co-operation between all colleagues. He stated that the time-table was open to adjustment; that colleagues should not see arbitrary single and double periods as constraints which prevent innovation, and he concluded, "We must try to eradicate the old policy of 'Let's get the project out of the way so that we can get back to the curriculum.' It is the quality of experience and the sequence of logical thought that is most important, rather than the amount of curriculum that is done." In this context, Mr. Z. set up the curriculum planning group (see page 247). An early decision was made to "block" time for Humanities, and it was suggested by the Head Teacher that groups with team leaders for each band should be formed to develop appropriate study themes. These groups were encouraged

to look outside both subject boundaries and the conventional blocks of lesson time. In the words of the Head, "alteration of the time-table is never at any time an academic crime." Although these groups were committed to "move beyond the experimental stage", several staff felt uncertain. They expressed these fears and asked the Head to define the issues more clearly. In a further memorandum he replied :

> "I can only reiterate that the process is the pursuit of a topic or major theme by a group of staff associated directly (or in the case of pure specialists indirectly) where there is a common aim and where content and approach have been jointly determined. Team Teaching is only a means to an end to bring about the fullest possible use of all the specialist talent, interest and enthusiasm for all colleagues, so that the greatest number of pupils will benefit from these knowledge and skills where many pupils are involved with common interests."

This memorandum concluded sympathetically :

> "It is only natural that there will be some misgivings at the prospect of venturing beyond the cosy security of the traditional time-table frontiers, but this feeling is only a temporary side effect of the former attitude to the academic, out-moded traditional examinations which I have deplored throughout the last decade." (Wallasey Misc. Papers, 10/70).

Between 1970 and 1972 experiments in team teaching were undertaken, but the Head was not happy with progress, and his memoranda to colleagues became more directive :

> "I do not propose to reiterate all that I have said and written on the subject of Integrated Studies and Team Teaching over the

past two years because, even if some of the policies and philosophies expressed and advocated have been misunderstood or - perhaps with some found to be incompatible, staff have had the opportunity of formulating some assessment."

"It is imperative this term (Autumn, 1972) - and here I must insist with no exceptions - that we all continue the experiments in integration ..... I am aware that many colleagues faithfully pursued these experiments, but it is of little avail unless there is full co-operation. I cannot accept a negative attitude or mere lip service this year."

But this more assertive stance was formulated in open acknowledgment of staff concern :

"I am well aware also that the pursuit of themes and integration of studies, especially in the ideal situation of mixed ability groups (where the social value is greater than the academic results) requires far more trouble and effort than the straightforward expenditure of energy in the formal, traditional teaching of the old order which required a far less devious approach.

"I am not denying the value and need of the formal approach in certain aspects of the curriculum (Head Teacher's emphasis), but if staff still find it difficult to break down old barriers between the Humanities, Sciences and Creative Skills, and so bring about some integration, then they might find it easier to achieve some concatenation if an overall theme is developed, thus avoiding the disjointed fragmentation I have noted in some parts of the school."

This particular memorandum concluded with the following injunction in capitals :

"AT ALL TIME WE SHOULD KEEP ASKING OURSELVES WHAT IS OUR PARTICULAR GOAL, REMEMBERING THAT THE ANSWER DOES NOT LIE IN THE OUTER SPACE

OF THE THIRD TIER. WE MUST NOT RELY ON THE PACKAGE DEAL OF THE EXTERNAL EXAMINATION. THE GOAL MUST LIE WITHIN OUR OWN MIDDLE YEARS."

(Misc. Papers 10/72).

To give substance to this rhetoric Mr. Z. provided a detailed curricular scheme for the third year on the theme of "power". Perhaps this was symbolic ? Certainly, it is worth noting that Mr. Z. was then fifty-nine and eligible to retire within the year. Further reflections in the form of written memoranda followed through 1973 and 1974, and they show a considered response to points raised at various curricular meetings. These later reports are more concerned with the mechanics of team teaching rather than aims.

Quotations from some of these memoranda have been made at length because Mr. Z. maintained that these gave his contemporaneous views on the issues raised in the interview schedule. This he felt, "gave a more accurate picture than looking back." Power was one of the "key concepts" explored in the Schools' Council Project "History, Geography and Social Science, 8 - 13" (1976).

The Head Teacher felt that his most important task in relation to his colleagues was to lead by example (Q4). Originally he saw the introduction of middle schools (Q7) as a form of schooling which would facilitate pupils' learning freed from the familiar external pressures. Reluctantly, though, Mr. Z. concluded that the "middle school experiment" had not been the success for which he had hoped. This judgement applied both to his own school and to the Authority generally. For administrative and economic reasons the Authority's middle schools never became the nine to thirteen schools which were originally intended. But even within the ten to thirteen context, he has had disappointments. With his colleagues he had been able to agree on the skills which pupils should have at the age of thirteen, but the attempt to introduce mixed

ability and team teaching did not succeed. The enthusiasm of 1972 was somewhat muted when he concluded: "It is immaterial to me what methods of approach to study are adopted, as long as we achieve stimulation, fired enthusiasm and some degree of logical correlation in themes of study." "I would be the first to admit that Maths, Science and to a lesser extent the Foreign Language, do require a more balanced place within the time-table" (Q's 13 and 14). Whatever the approach to teaching which was adopted, Mr. Z. was quite clear still about the skills which all teachers should cultivate (Q24) : "Motivation must be through curiosity ... In the middle school the outside motivation is essential .... We should not fall into the trap of receiving the spoken word and giving back the written word, unaltered except in its mutilation. Let us not be afraid of the "package deal" where the teacher is provided with material, written, spoken or visual. Knowledge comes mainly from material such as films. Explanation of principles and concepts can come from these sources and other programmed materials."

But the reality has fallen short of his vision: "I am beginning to feel that the light of this freedom which shone so brightly in the early days of re-organisation .... has now become somewhat dimmed." "The spectre over our shoulders now is not the eleven plus, it is the thirteen plus which seems to have usurped that place in the minds of some ..... Fears have been stirred up and I suspect that we are beginning to feel the backlash." Mr. Z. referred to "wild rumours" that the third tier schools were having to try and cover five years' work within three. When asked to comment on why his staff were cautious to experiment, and why the anxieties concerning the third tier schools grew, he maintained that "these pressures are self imposed and emanate from our inborn fears." He looked back to the time when the Rowland Hutty School was a secondary modern and pupils were presented for G.C.E. and C.S.E. examinations.

Then "reasonably successful results" were achieved by "the lower sixty per cent of the entire age group." As a secondary modern school much less time was allocated to Maths, Science and French, yet some of the Staff referred to this period as "golden days".

In several respects the responses of the staff interviewed at the Rowland Hutty Middle School were similar to those at St. Michael's. All concluded that re-organisation was imposed from outside the teaching profession and that middle schools, as part of this re-organisation, were introduced for "political" purposes. It is interesting that these teachers should describe the move from selective to non-selective schooling as political rather than educational. According to Mr. X., "the decision to have middle schools was primarily an economic measure in Wallasey and later came the educational justification in an academic sphere. Let's face it, it is cheaper to build middle schools than secondary."

Both Mr. X and the Deputy, Mr. Y. "chose" to work in the middle school because they were in their middle and late fifties and to move elsewhere was domestically and professionally inappropriate. Mr. Y. did not enthuse about the changed status of the Rowland Hutty School : "I feel its been a regressive step in terms of good education" (Q7), and "I was promoted Deputy when this school was secondary modern. I am now Deputy in a middle school, but not by design. I would prefer secondary." (Q8). Mr. X, also preferred the secondary situation, but felt that, "now the school is smaller this is an advantage. You get to know the pupils better". (Q7). The more positive aspects were stressed by Mr. U., Head of First Year : "The lower ability children have a longer period in the junior school environment, and this is good for the development of reading skills. Also by providing specialisation, this school benefits the brighter child." This individual concern for pupils was considered to be an important aspect of the teacher's job by all respondents

(Q4), but Mr. X. considered the instrumental function of schooling to be first priority: "The kids will be assessed on paper in a materialistic world."

Many of the staff felt uncertain as to what being "middle" meant, pedagogically speaking. According to the Head of Science, Mr. W., "This school is neither primary nor secondary really; it's not one or the other." "Teaching in one, the middle school is a figment of the imagination" (Miss T.). "If you explain what a middle school is you tend to equate it with primary any way" (Mr. U.). This uncertainty about their school's identity was reflected in their comments relating to whether middle schools should be more widely established (Q29). The Deputy, Mr. Y., was completely opposed to them: "No - unequivocally No!" Mrs. V. replied, "Possibly, I would say 'Yes' if more thought and care were taken before they were introduced. But I wouldn't recommend this system." Mr. U. was of a similar opinion: "The ideal school yes, but not the present ten to thirteen school." In his view the nine to thirteen school would be ideal. Many of the staff at the Rowland Hutty Middle School made comparisons with the nearby eight to twelve schools in Birkenhead. Some felt that "they were just like primary schools" and that the pupils may not be "sufficiently stretched." No one was enthusiastic for the Wallasey scheme and most favoured a two tier rather than a three tier system.

This staff perceived an uncertain relationship between middle and high schools. Middle schools should prepare for the next stage of schooling, but not specifically for examination courses. At the same time, as we shall see, most teachers favoured a "subject based" curriculum. X and Y believed that an examination at the end of the third year would not hinder their teaching goals (Q16). Mr. X. continued "....it might be an incentive. One of the weaknesses of the middle

school system is that the incentive isn't there." "I approve of the eleven plus, but not as a first and last chance" (Q28) was Mr. W's opinion. In more marked contrast Mrs. V. and Mr. U. oppose the re-introduction of the eleven plus and feel that an examination for all pupils at the end of the third year would have a restrictive effect on their teaching. All colleagues in some way used internal testing to assess their "effectiveness" and no-one objected to the Richmond tests which have recently been introduced for all thirteen year olds in the ten to thirteen middle schools.

The comments of the Head Teacher have already shown that the question of team teaching and integrated studies was a central issue vis-a-vis the school's identity as a middle school and the perceived relationship to the third tier schools. Both the Heads of Science and French (W and X) insisted that "their subject" required more structured, formal teaching. "It (Integrated Studies) could be of value, but it depends on the subjects involved. Modern languages require a carefully structured approach" (Q20). "The Head is much more keen to develop this (Team Teaching), but it is much more suitable for some subjects than others." (L. Q20). Others referred to the characteristics of the staff rather than the subject; "You have to be very careful matching the temperaments of the teachers" (T, Q21). The Head of Third Year (and Geography) was more enthusiastic for the idea of team teaching, but also cautioned, "its success depends on the staff involved and whether they can work together." Only the Head of First Year was anxious to develop the idea further: "It was beginning to work last year. Admittedly there were some time-table problems, but with determination the scheme can work successfully." The arguments which are used are familiar, but none-the-less interesting: "my subject" is inappropriate, the time-table presents problems and the perceived feelings of other

staff. No one expressly identifies his or her career prospects or status with a subject or departmental label (Warwick, 1976, p.101), yet this consideration probably explains most effectively the stance taken. It will be remembered that U was Head of First Year and did not have a departmental responsibility and V was both Head of Third Year and Geography. As the Head stated, most of the teachers were trained in the subject tradition and this "cosy security" was part of their biography. In one sense, it was relatively easy for him to advocate change. He had to present a "progressive" image to his Advisers, but he did not have to practise team teaching and had nothing to lose. The essential difference between St. Michael's and the Rowland Hutty School on this issue is that at the former, the Head and Staff engaged in the mutual pretence of meeting each other's declared wishes, whereas in the Wallasey school, the difference of opinion was acknowledged and in the event the staff opinion prevailed.

Most colleagues were fully aware of what the Head Teacher saw as important (Q5), but felt that he did not rate sufficiently highly attainment in specific subjects, notably English, Science and Maths. The assistant teachers justified their opinion in terms of "pressure" from the third tier schools. To ascertain the extent to which this was the case, rather than claimed to be the case, would have required detailed interviews with the staff of third tier schools. This was beyond the scope of this study. It is significant that the teachers at the Rowland Hutty School presented attainment in the third tier school as important. The "yard stick" which "top class" teachers use at thirteen plus is little different to that used at eleven.

With the concern for a subject based curriculum and the alleged pressure from the high schools, it is not surprising that most of the staff interviewed felt that subject specialists were essential in the ten to thirteen school (Q13). Staff opinion was divided, however, on

the question of whether the twelve or thirteen year olds were more or less mature in the middle than in the secondary modern school (Q19). "Mentally I don't think they are as mature. They are being kept down in the middle school." (Mr. X.) "At the secondary level there was such a difference in the educational system that I couldn't compare. I think the eleven plus were probably more confident in the primary school because there they get the jobs of monitors and so on. Overall, I don't think there's a great deal of difference." (V. Q19).

Discussion.

These descriptions of the Rowland Hutty and St. Michael's Middle Schools have shown the similarities experienced by the two schools upon re-organisation, as well as their notable differences. Because the rolls of the new schools were smaller after re-organisation, each middle school pupil had significantly more teaching space than the average pupil in a middle school. Of course the distribution of this space, as well as the other resources was not wholly consistent with the suggested models for their respective type of middle school. Mr. A. and Mr. Z. had been appointed originally as Head Teachers of secondary schools. This they expected and wished to remain. To different degrees both schools retained a substantial number of former staff after re-organisation. This had important consequences for the organisational structure of the respective schools.

St. Michael's was intended to be an eight to twelve middle school, and twelve months after the re-organisation date this was achieved. The ten to thirteen status of the Rowland Hutty Middle School was an interim stage in a proposal to move to a nine to thirteen system. This interim status still persists, but since local government re-organisation

in 1974 it has become clear that the original three tier scheme will not be implemented. This temporary status, together with the much smaller turnover of teachers, has helped the secondary oriented teachers at the Rowland Hutty Middle School to maintain a form of secondary organisation which is more congruent with that of the former secondary modern school. It will be remembered that Mr. Z. did not share this view with several important members of his staff. We have seen that many of the Rowland Hutty staff justify their views largely in terms of "pressure" from the third tier. Because the High School course is one year longer in Chester's High Schools, this argument has had less force at St. Michael's.

These two short case studies were undertaken to see if reasons could be found to explain adequately why pupils in the ten to thirteen school achieved statistically significant higher scores on the reading test than pupils of a similar age in the other types of school (Chapter 8 refers). Within the limits of this study it would be pretentious to offer anything more than informed speculation. First, reading skills in both St. Michael's and the Rowland Hutty schools were acknowledged to be the main responsibility of the English specialists. At St. Michael's, English throughout the School was taught by the class teacher, while at the Rowland Hutty School English in the first year formed part of the Humanities programme. In years two and three it was taught by a specialist teacher. (Also in the comprehensive secondary schools used in the empirical survey, English was taught by specialists to years one and two). The superior reading scores of the Rowland Hutty pupils compared with those at St. Michael's were overall better on average, but they did not improve systematically with age. Thus it would be unwise to attribute too much to specialist teaching of English. That there was also a much more stable staffing situation

at the Rowland Hutty School has also been made clear. Other Wallasey middle schools did not have this advantage to the same extent as the Rowland Hutty School, but the average teacher turnover in the Wallasey middle schools generally was less than in the Chester second tier schools. A broadly similar organisational structure exists in all Wallasey's middle schools, so theoretically it would have been possible to control this alleged "stability factor". In practice, of course, such an extension of the empirical survey was out of the question. Incidentally, both St. Michael's and the Rowland Hutty schools used the S.R.A. reading scheme.

When these considerations were raised with the Head Teacher and the Head of English, it was explained that reading skills were developed consciously and systematically at all levels. This emphasis, though, did not emerge to the present writer when he was reading through the English and Humanities syllabi. In the course of this discussion Mr. Z. commented, "As you know some pupils in the High Schools who are planning to go in for teaching come into help with our reading work." This I did not know! To obtain this kind of practical, everyday detail the researcher needs to become a member of staff for a sustained period (Lacey, op.cit) and not, as in this case, "fit in" the testing programme, interviews, observation and some class teaching between his own lecturing commitments. Although the methodological weaknesses are considerable, the procedure has identified the following. First a difference in emphasis between syllabus and practice. This is no new observation, but when it is raised with teachers in a specific context it is a valuable source for inservice teacher development work. Secondly, a commitment to a specific issue which initially appeared to be taken for granted in the everyday life of the school. Whether similar findings would be identified in other subject areas is worthy of investigation.

At St. Michael's the staff were reassured that their "standards" were similar to those in other schools. The significance of this very real concern goes beyond the scope of this study.

The notion of exchange which has been developed in Chapter 3 provides some insight into the conflict which has been identified in curriculum and pedagogy. Integrated Studies and Team Teaching proved to be a contentious issue between Head Teacher and Staff at both Schools. Although the previous description has shown that this conflict was managed differently at the two schools, there is much to suggest that the sources were similar and go beyond specific institutional considerations. At St. Michael's and the Rowland Hutty Middle Schools, there were those who favoured and those who opposed change from separate subjects to integrated studies, especially in the Humanities/Environmental Studies area of the curriculum. Of course, Integrated Studies and Team Teaching are not progressive practices particular to middle schools, but it has been argued (Exeter University, Themes in Education, Nos. 14 and 18) that middle schools are very suitable for such innovations because they are less constrained by external examinations where the traditional subject labels essentially prevail. Because many see this area of the curriculum as less prestigious and indirectly related to the world of work, it can be argued that there will be less resistance to change in the humanities. If Blau's assertion that innovation is more likely to take root and develop in less contentious areas is correct, then it could be maintained that advocates of integrated teaching looked to successful practice in middle status areas of the curriculum before it could be considered appropriate for those subjects held in more esteem.

At St. Michael's and Rowland Hutty, the Head Teachers were the within school initiators for curricular and pedagogic change. Both used

Environmental Studies as the site for innovation. Mr. A. and Mr. Z. were encouraged by their Advisory colleagues to innovate in this way, and both proclaimed their commitment to such practice. Most importantly, the Head Teachers were in the critical position to appropriate resources, both of time and money, which would be necessary for success. In the Rowland Hutty Middle School, and to a slightly lesser extent at St. Michael's, most of the teachers had previously seen their careers as subject specialists where pupils' success in external examinations had provided a tangible measure of their teacher "effectiveness." It has been suggested that this aspect of the teachers' identity has been displaced into concern over "pressure" from the third tier schools, but this explanation in itself cannot be considered as sufficient. Mr. C., Mrs. D. and Mr. Y. and Mrs. V. for example at St. Michael's and Rowland Hutty respectively, were experienced teachers at the top of their salary scales with little motivation to move elsewhere. For these teachers to adopt an integrated subject approach would involve the expenditure of considerable professional capital in exchange for a product in which they had little enthusiasm or confidence. From their position they had much to lose and little to gain. For the younger teachers and those recently appointed to the schools, the enterprise had more to offer: they had career goals to pursue which the middle school promotion structure may be able to satisfy. To them, the Head Teachers had resources to distribute which were significant in their terms.

The reluctance to change familiar patterns of teaching is not specific to former secondary schools which have become middle. In the writer's professional experience a similar response can be identified in ex-primary schools. Understandably many teachers are hesitant to commit themselves to teaching styles other than those with which they have experienced success, as they see it. The successful adoption and

diffusion of any curricular or pedagogic innovation requires more than the advocacy of a superior colleague.

Finally in this chapter, it should be noted that interviews with teachers are not in themselves a sufficient basis for the investigation of teacher perspectives. The conflict and contradictions described above may have been methodologically generated, although the present writer has no evidence to suggest that this is the case. In sum, it appears that the data presented in these two brief case studies suggest that the similarities and differences between St. Michael's and the Rowland Hutty Middle Schools have no particular middle school quality; they could be just two schools like any other. From the evidence presented in this and the previous chapter, it would seem that neither teachers nor pupils at these two schools can discern a distinctive middle school identity.

CONCLUSION.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THEORETICAL ADEQUACY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.

The central concern of this study has been to document the emergence of middle schools in England since 1970, to explore aspects of the decision making processes which secured their establishment and to describe particular features of life within two comparable middle schools. The data appropriate to this task have been elicited from documentary sources, from interviews with people involved with educational policy making and administration, as well as teachers and pupils. Also, because certain advocates have made claims for middle schools in terms of pupils' attainment and motivations, a small scale empirical project has been included to provide data which potentially could support or refute these claims. The arguments for and against middle schools as separate institutions constitute part of the professional and public debate on the most appropriate form of schooling for pupils aged eight to thirteen years. The evidence provided in this study has been interpreted within a broad sociological framework - some would insist that there is more than one - so that hopefully it can be compared with the more mainstream contributions to the form of schooling and pupils' achievements.

The review of literature in Chapter 2 identified the form of the early debates relating to middle schools, and equally importantly it identified the leading "middle school entrepreneurs". From this review, it can also be seen that middle schools are by no means a particularly English phenomenon; indeed separate second tier schools previously existed in neighbouring Scotland, much of Europe, New Zealand and the U.S.A. The assessment presented in Chapter 2 emphasises the importance of the American middle school to the development of a middle school ideology in England and, from a sociological standpoint, the apparently atheoretical basis of the published studies on English middle schools

until well into the second half of the 1970's. The rationale for middle schools was essentially in terms of children's "stages of development", a notion which is firmly rooted in a psychological tradition.

The absence of both empirical evidence relating to the claims of the middle school enthusiasts and a sociological framework in which to locate and interpret these developments provided the stimulus for this study. There was good reason to be concerned at both these omissions. First, in the early 1970's middle schools were coming into existence at a relatively rapid rate, apparently without detailed scrutiny. Secondly, the form of school provision within a particular society has long been a major concern for the sociology of education. Clearly the emergence of middle schools was an integral part of the national trend towards non-selective secondary education. This was the dominant feature of educational change during the 1960's.

Some theoretical considerations germane to a satisfactory account of educational change were set out in Chapter 3. An attempt has been made to take into account the structural and contextual variables which impinge on changes in school provision. The assumptions which underpin this theoretical enterprise are that change is normal, that its origins can be located in the interaction between competing sectional interest groups, and that in education we have an arena where these conflicts - or at least their consequences - are more readily observable. Drawing on the work of Homans, Blau and Eisenstadt, the notion of exchange was adopted for this study because this model permits a dynamic view of social change, acknowledges that power is unequally distributed within and between various levels of the social structure, and that not all sectional interest groups have equal access to, or ability to define, resources. This conceptual framework postulates the existence of operational

categories which greatly facilitates an analysis of the study data.

From the narrative of events described in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 concerning the development of middle schools nationally and specifically within two Local Education Authorities, key roles were identified, and from the interaction between members in their various roles the process of exchange was confirmed. The re-organisation of school provision in Wallasey and Chester has been interpreted within the exchange framework in Chapter 7. In that chapter it was contended that the model is useful in highlighting the interdependence between the various interest groups in the decision making processes, and how they negotiated for resources which ranged from legitimating arguments concerning the proposed institutional forms, to clear bargaining for cash and materials. The appropriateness of the exchange model to Local Education Authority decision making concerning the establishment of middle schools seems to be demonstrated from the interpretation presented in Chapter 7; its adequacy for the study as a whole is assessed in the final part of this chapter.

Before the case studies of St. Michael's and the Rowland Hutty Middle Schools were undertaken and presented in Chapter 10, Chapter 8 explored whether the attainment and attendance of pupils of a given age varied, on average, according to the types of school which they attended. The specific hypotheses tested in Chapter 8 were generated from the review of literature relating to the development of middle schools. It was explained in Chapter 8 that the general conclusions which can be drawn from the data presented on attainment and absence are limited. This is because of the sampling procedure and the limited criteria employed for the dependent variables. A replication of the experimental design, but using a more representative sample of schools and a wider range of measures for the dependent variables would make a

valuable contribution to the middle schools debate. Originally when planning this study it was intended to use a more representative sample of schools. It was explained in the Introduction that this proved impossible because of the restrictions imposed on the present writer in terms of his own resources of time and the conditions of access imposed by certain head teachers. In a very real sense the researcher was involved in an exchange process: access to schools was vital for this project, and the head teachers saw that the data he could provide would be useful for their negotiations with the administrators in their Local Education Authority. The clearest example is represented by the Head teacher of one school who granted access to the school on condition that all pupils would be tested for IQ and reading attainment. When he received the mean and standard deviation statistics for these measures he made an application to the Local Education Authority for Social Priority Status for the school.

More pertinent to the general strategy of this study is the relationship between the "positivist" social theory and methodology on which Chapter 8 is based and the model of exchange used earlier. At this stage of the study it could be said that there is an apparent lack of continuity in the general theoretical framework. A similar point could be made with reference to Chapter 9, which examined pupils' perceptions of transfer between schools of different types. These perceptions were examined in terms of Glaser and Strauss's "grounded theory" and drew upon the concepts of "status passage" and "career" derived from a symbolic interactionist perspective.

The charge that an arbitrary "pick 'n' mix" approach to theory has been adopted to illuminate and clarify the experimental data would be unfair and inaccurate for several reasons. First, in the chapter on theoretical considerations it was clearly stated that no single conceptual

or sociological framework currently exists which is equally appropriate to the different kinds of data embraced in this study. Secondly, there is good sociological precedent for adopting theoretical positions of limited applicability. In a major work, Merton (1957, p.9) has stated: "It would be reasonable to suppose that sociology will advance in the degree that its major concern is with developing theories of the middle range, and will be frustrated if attention centers on theory in the large. I believe that our major task to-day is to develop special theories applicable to limited ranges of data ....." Incidentally, Merton (op.cit., p.328 n) cites the early work of Eisenstadt as a good example of the application of middle range theory. Furthermore, the data on pupil transfer illustrates that structural considerations do influence the interactional context, and pupils were the only identified interest group which did not have an organisational framework in which to articulate their views.

The concepts of "status passage" and "career" which are deployed in Chapter 9 can be traced to a social psychological and developmental base. Homans, who it will be remembered has been identified as one of the founders of exchange theory, emphasises the psychological nature of man and the importance of psychological considerations to general propositions in sociology. One of Homans' prime concerns was the forms of social behaviour which are considered to be invariant from one society and culture to another. He defines such social behaviour in terms of the exchange of rewarding and punishing acts. Of course, the critical question here is how these different acts come to be experienced as rewarding or punishing. Blau, too, was concerned with the relationship between psychological and sociological processes. Within his theory Blau has attempted to derive sample types of associations between people from different types of exchange of various rewards. From these

associations, social integration, differentiation, opposition and legitimation emerge as dimensions in a complex social structure. To Blau, conflict is a result of exchange, and as such is a prime cause of social change.

The three paragraphs above do not constitute an attempt to argue briefly that there really is a hidden continuity between the theoretical stances adopted in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9 and the remainder of the study. Rather they are intended as a reminder that the study has been grappling with issues which appear to be endemic to the sociological enterprise, and that the positions adopted here do have some coherence. Specifically within the terms of the middle schools issue, the present writer was concerned about the absence of pupils' perspectives on whether transfer should be at eleven, twelve or thirteen. If the achievement of a neat, consistent theoretical position had been the main aim for this study, it would have been easier to omit the data contained in Chapter 9 ! Now, at least there is additional evidence to be considered when politicians, administrators and teachers negotiate patterns of school provision.

Two tasks now remain: first, to examine some issues raised by the several analyses; and secondly, to assess the adequacy of the exchange model which has provided the main theoretical underpinning for this study.

One of the main practical issues suggested by Eisenstadt's theoretical perspective on institutionalisation and social change was the extent to which new institutional forms are incorporated into the existing structure. For this study, the question can be interpreted more specifically to ask how far middle schools have become an acceptable feature of comprehensive school provision. It has been documented fully that middle schools were launched with considerable "theoretical" justification, yet as recently as 12th January, 1980, L.J. Burrows, one of the earliest

and most influential middle school advocates, had this to say to the N.U.T. Education Conference :

> "There are now more than 1,400 middle schools. Half a million children will pass through them and 20,000 teachers work in them. Surely they are something, not insignificant, something that will not go away. Middle schools are no longer just a gleam in someone's mind, not just a matter of administrative expediency. They must now be taken seriously."

Why is Burrows then still pleading, after more than a decade that middle schools should be taken seriously ? This does raise significant questions about their acceptability. It could be that the term "middle school" still carries an uncertain identity. To-day middle schools cover a more varied age range than was the case in 1970 and some of these patterns do not rest easily within the philosophical framework of the middle years of schooling which was articulated from the Warwick Conference (1967) onwards. Suffolk still has two ten to fourteen middle schools and the number of combined schools catering for the age range five to twelve continues to rise. Such variants and inconsistencies weaken the development of that coherent identity which any strong movement must have if it is to be taken seriously. Furthermore, it would appear that no new middle school scheme has been submitted to the Department of Education and Science since 1975. The middle schools which have come into being since then were proposed before that date.

In terms of the contagion model suggested in Chapter 4, it would now seem that their diffusion has been checked, largely because the current conditions are not conducive to the middle school. The emergence of the nine to thirteen middle school particularly was associated with areas where the school population in the middle years of schooling was rising. To-day the immediate context is one of falling rolls. In the

two Authorities with which this study has been primarily concerned, the middle school population will fall by 15% in the next three years. One of these Authorities already has a definite scheme for "unscrambling the middle school omelette"; the other is looking closely at the viability of its middle schools. That these discussions are taking place illustrates yet again the importance of structural and contextual considerations to the form of school provision. The notions of contagion and diffusion networks which are suggested in Chapter 4 are consistent with the more general exchange model. In a sense networks are essential to exchange; the more networks the greater the opportunities for exchange. At an experimental level there is much opportunity for further research. A Sir Lewis Namier type of analysis on middle school entrepreneurs, teachers who have secured positions of responsibility within middle schools and administrators with Authorities who have adopted three tier systems, would be a most valuable sequel to the ideas suggested here.

Within this context, the several interest groups identified in this study will continue to bargain for resources and defend their interests. Of course, this process will not be confined to middle schools, but if as Burrows implies, the middle school has not established a sufficiently strong institutional base within the comprehensive pattern, then maybe we shall experience the rise and fall of the middle school within a twenty year period. As Reese Edwards (1972) notes, the nearest historical precedent for the middle school in the maintained sector in England is the former Junior Technical School, and this does not provide an encouraging parallel for institutional logevity.

The operational limitations under which this study has been conducted are most clearly apparent in Chapters 9 and 10. First, to gain a fuller understanding of pupils' perception of transfer it is necessary to

supplement pupils' written comments with interview data and direct observations of life in classrooms. Simply this was not practicable. But even on the limited data base of this study two clear theories emerge: the particular importance of age identity during a phase of life which is seen as strongly developmental, and the sub-cultural influences on how pupils perceive problems of transfer and devise appropriate solutions with their peers. A more lengthy ethnographic follow up study is called for. This should explore whether success or failure, defined both in teachers' and pupils' terms, in the primary and second tier school does actually influence pupils' adaptation to the secondary and high school. Also whether pupils perceive transfer to be more or less central to their career path may be a principal component to pupils' motivation and achievement in the high schools. The application of sociometric techniques both before and after transfer would provide more substantial evidence on the actual organisation of pupil groups in classrooms. Certainly policy implications do follow from how pupils are placed in new schools after transfer.

The evidence presented in Chapter 9 challenges the assertion by some educationalists that middle schools are unique in identity. If the quotations cited in this study from pupils in the middle years of schooling represent their views fairly, then in the pupils' eyes they are schools like any other. This issue requires further research. If the conclusion presented here is confirmed, then this would provide supportive evidence for those who now maintain that if middle schools are "unscrambled" to meet changed economic and administrative circumstances, no significant educational loss will be sustained.

Sensitive descriptions of life in schools rely on a detailed knowledge of the day to day routines and practices, as well as close contact with school members. Time is an important ingredient in achieving

this knowledge. The case studies presented in Chapter 10 explain that it was possible to explore only limited areas of life in St. Michael's and the Rowland Hutty Middle School, but significantly in these areas the two schools did not appear to have a distinctive middle school quality. In this respect teacher and pupil perceptions are similar.

The theoretical perspective adopted to illuminate and clarify this case study data is consistent with that used to analyse other educational institutions. Besides its application to the study of decision making at the Local Education Authority level, the exchange model does aid an understanding of conflict and change in the St. Michael's and Rowland Hutty Middle Schools.

Although this model has been applied only to a restricted range of data in this project, it is suggested that as an exercise in theory verification it could be employed to explain the variety of curricular and organisational patterns which have grown up in middle schools. Looking at middle schools nationwide, three models of management can be identified. In the Bradford middle schools, which cater for the nine to thirteen age range, a team teaching or co-operative organisation has been encouraged. The West Riding Authority, which pioneered with eight to twelve and nine to thirteen middle schools, emphasised the "my teacher" approach, and a third model is a hybrid which uses specialist teachers for certain curriculum areas.

From a perusal of documentary material and several occasional visits, it would appear that where new middle schools were built, the designs seemed to be based on the first two models, but in areas where existing buildings have had to be adapted, hybrid patterns have emerged. Organisational/management structures are very dependent on pressures and constraints, checks and balances. The middle school organisation is an interesting example of how these pressures and constraints change the organisation.

When this project was first discussed with middle school head teachers and Local Education Authority advisers during the early 1970's many spoke about "setting opportunities" for older pupils. They planned specialist teachers in specialist equipped areas, free periods, the various intricacies of timetabling which would be necessary for fourth years, yet at the same time the first years would have a "class teacher". In the early middle schools the belief existed that staffing ratios would be generous to achieve all this. The recent history of middle schools has shown that they were not, and the cloth had to be cut accordingly. The larger middle school could turn to the "Bradford scheme" of teams; the smaller two form entry middle schools had more difficulty. During the second half of the 1970's falling numbers on school rolls have further reduced deployment of staff opportunities and the phase "deemed primary" for a lot of eight to twelve middle schools is a reality so that very little specialisation is in operation.

To-day many of this same group of head teachers are still in the same posts. During more recent discussions they have remarked that they believed flexibility in the age of transfer would solve a lot of organisational and management problems. They no longer believe this. They think that continuity of method and curriculum are now the key issues. They think that the problem of specialist expertise is best solved by the consultancy idea, not through the timetable. One wonders if this is simply a rationalisation of the real truth that there is no option. They are convinced that size is a crucial factor and the two form entry middle school organisation is little different from the primary school. This change in their thinking is substantial. Since the days of the Schools Council Working Paper No.22 when teachers in middle schools were urged to be experimental, words like - green paper - great debate - A.P.U. - Primary and Secondary Reports - rationalisation - redundancy - falling rolls - H.M.I.Primary Report - a framework for the

school curriculum - a view of the school curriculum - have changed the scenario. Accountability has had an effect upon the freedom of the middle school to devise its own curriculum, and so has the current concentration upon the curriculum for the secondary school pupil.

These are reflections on middle schools known to the present writer, but considerable documentation does exist in the form of correspondence between advisory and school staff, content of inservice courses, changed timetables, school log books, governors' reports, together with teachers' and administrators' comments on recent developments for a systematic analysis of bargaining processes for available resources. This theoretical framework is more than an intellectual exercise: it is an attempt to show the significance of structural considerations both to the development of middle schools and to the form of their internal organisation and curricula.

To conclude, it was stated in the discussion on theoretical consideration presented in Chapter 3 that for the exchange model to be valid it would be necessary to identify from the experimental data the various sectional interest groups who favoured and opposed change, who were the "institutional entrepreneurs", how and by whom resources are defined and allocated, and to ascertain the currency or token of exchange. The contribution which the exchange model makes to an understanding of the re-organisation of educational provision in Wallasey and Chester has been assessed in Chapter 7. The analysis demonstrates the critical role which educational administrators fulfil as the "gatekeepers" to significant information for teachers and the various sectional interest groups which represent the general public, but it is well worth restating that Section 13 of the 1944 Education Act ensures that parental consultation is not a nominal stage in the decision making process. Even so, the way in which the administrators controlled access to

information during the exchange process proved to be vital in ensuring that their definition of the situation prevailed. In practice the model does facilitate a more sensitive understanding of the events described and permits a more structured comparison between re-organisation in Wallasey and Chester, and in other Local Education Authorities.

Chapter 10 illustrates that the exchange model also offers insights to curricular decision making processes and professional practice within schools as institutions. Again various sectional interest groups can be identified which favour and oppose curricular and organisational innovation. The ways in which they justify their acceptance of, or opposition to, the innovation reflects the language of educational debate at a more general level. The belief that teachers do have considerable autonomy within the classroom is sustained by the evidence from the St. Michael's and Rowland Hutty Middle Schools. Those teachers who felt that they had little to gain from the middle school experiment did not participate freely.

At the societal and school level, structural and contextual variables have been identified and all the evidence suggests that these variables influence perceptions, motivations and goals of individual teachers and pupils. At the Local Authority and school level, each of the sectional interest groups were responsive to change to various degrees; each possessed potential resources in the exchange process, and each had the capacity to innovate.

Given that the exchange model is only an aid to understanding the social processes described in Wallasey and Chester, and in the two middle schools, this model does appear to have some validity. Analytic concepts have been derived from theoretical considerations which offer both insight and explanation. The application of exchange theory

to the forms of educational provision and to middle schools as specific institutions at least offers a framework in which the data presented in this study and the future middle school developments can be appraised.

APPENDICES.

Appendix 1.

M I D D L E S C H O O L S .

L.A.	1970			1971			1972			1973			1974			1975			1976			1977			1978			1979		
	DF	DS	T	DF	DS	T	DF	DS	T	DF	DS	T	DF	DS	T	DF	DS	T	DF	DS	T	DF	DS	T	DF	DS	T	DF	DS	T
Avon														1	1															
Barnsley											2	2		2	2		2	2		2	2	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3
Bedfordshire								3	3		6	6		14	14	1	27	28		33	33		43	43		43	43		43	43
Berkshire													23		23	24		24	24		24	24		24	24	6	30	24	6	30
Birmingham										21		21	21		21	21		21	21		21	21		21	21		21	21		21
Bradford		1	1		2	2		9	9		22	22		41	41		49	49		50	50		51	51		51	51		54	54
Buckinghamshire										1		1	142		142	145		145	149		149	153		153	156		156	158		158
Bury							1		1	1	1	2		1	1		2	2	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Calderdale										13		13	13		13	13		13	13		13	13		13	12		12	12		12
Cambridgeshire														2	2		2	2		2	2		2	2		2	2		2	2
Cardiff													17		17	17		17	17		17	17		17	17	5	22	17	5	22
Carmarthen										17	3	20	20	7	27	20	7	27	24	7	31	25	7	32	28	7	35	37	10	47
Cornwall					1	1	2	3	5	10	4	14	9	6	15	17	6	23	14	9	23	17	9	26	18	11	29	19	11	30
Coventry										53		53	54	6	60	55	6	61	55	6	61	55	6	61	55	6	61	55	6	61
Croydon																51		51	54		54	54		54	54		54	54		54
Cumbria				40		40	40		40	41		41	40		40	41		41	73		73	74		74	76		76	107		107
Darlington													29		29	33		33	36		36	36		36	36		36	35		35
Derbyshire & Micros.		1	1		8	8	1	8	9	8	16	24	6	22	28	5	24	29	3	28	31	7	30	37	7	31	38	9	32	41
Derbyshire					3	3		9	9		10	10		10	10		11	11		11	11		11	11		11	11		11	11
Devon		49	49		50	50		51	51		52	52	24	54	78	22	54	76	22	55	77	23	58	81	24	58	82	23	57	80
Doncaster					8	8		11	11	1	12	13		16	16		16	16		16	16		16	16		16	16		16	16
Dorset					4	4		4	4		4	4		4	4		4	4		4	4		4	4		7	7		7	7
Dudley											3	3	11	9	20	11	11	22	11	11	22	11	11	22	11	11	22	11	11	22
Durham										4	50	54	4	51	55	5	52	57	6	53	59	6	54	60	6	54	60	5	62	67
East Sussex													11		11	11		11	11		11	12		12	12		12	12		12
Essex		15	15		15	15		15	15		15	15		16	16		16	16		17	17		17	17		17	17		17	17
Gateshead														10	10		11	11		12	12		12	12		12	12		12	12
Gloucestershire										22		22	30		30	32		32	31		31	39		39	48		48	55		55
Hampshire								2	2		3	3		7	7		12	12		19	19		20	20		21	21		21	21
Hartlepool																														
Hereford & Worcester		15	15		15	15		15	15		15	15		16	16		16	16		17	17		17	17		17	17		17	17
Hertfordshire														10	10		11	11		12	12		12	12		12	12		12	12
Humberside										22		22	30		30	32		32	31		31	39		39	48		48	55		55
Isle of Wight								2	2		3	3		7	7		12	12		19	19		20	20		21	21		21	21
Northumberland		11	11		21	21		21	21		31	31		11	11		25	25		29	29		36	36		45	45		46	46
Nottinghamshire																	3	3		3	3		11	11		11	11		11	11
Oxfordshire													1	11	12		14	14		15	15		15	15		15	15		15	15
Rochdale		5			5	5		5	5		6	6		6	6		6	6		6	6		8	8		9	9		9	9
Salop														1	1	1		1		2	2		2	2		2	2		2	2
Sheffield	18		18	21		21	24		24	30		30	46		46	49		49	54		54	55		55	55		55	56		56
Somerset					1	1		5	5		5	5		7	7		7	7		7	7		9	9		9	9		9	9
Staffordshire				84		84	83		83	83		83	82		82	82	9	91	82	11	93	82	21	103	81	26	107	80	27	107
Suffolk E. & W.								8	8		18	18		29	29		36	36		33	33		34	34		36	36		39	39
Surrey	5		5	6		6	18		18	36		36	83		83	98		98	134		134	160		160	162		162	164		164
West Sussex													27		27	28		28	28		28	27		27	27		27	33		33
Tyne & W.		2	2		4	4	3	5	8	4	5	9	14	5	19	23	5	28	27	5	32	27	5	32	28	5	33	27	5	32
Tameside M.														21	21		21	21		21	21		21	21		21	21		21	21
Sheffield										7	18	25	13	19	32	13	20	33	13	21	34	13	23	36	13	26	39	13	26	39
Trafford																	2	2		2	2		2	2		2	2		2	2
Warwickshire													54		54	54		54	54		54	82		82	83		83	83		83
Wiltshire											1	1		1	1		1	1		4	4		4	4		4	4		4	4
York											4	4		4	4		4	4		4	4		4	4		4	4		4	4
Total		10	10	36	10	46	34	10	44	33	10	43	34	10	44	34	10	44	34	10	44	34	10	44	34	10	44	34	10	44
Wales	12	16	28	15	14	29	14	16	30																					
	35	105	140	202	146	348	223	185	408	385	301	686	809	403	1212	909	472	1381	993	508	1501	1068	561	1629	1089	601	1690	1144	620	1764

KEY TO COMPUTER PRINT OUT.

COMPUTER PROGRAMME: SPSS 10
University of Pittsburg - Anova Programme.

RSCR = Reading score.

ABSN = Pupil absence.

SCH = School.

ADC = Address.

ADR = Socio-economic status.

ATT = Attainment.

APPENDIX 2(a)

FORM OF DATA TABULATION FOR ANOVA PROGRAMME.

Data Line Number.	Form Code Number.	School Type Code.	Pupil's Register Number.	Age.	Sex.	Address Code.	S.E.S. Code.	Reading Score.	I.Q.	Absence.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
100	1	4	1	11	1	416	2	93	108	40
240	1	4	21	11	2	532	2	96	110	21
"										
"										
"										
"										
4420	21	2	1	13	1	198	4	103	106	2
4540	21	2	32	13	2	117	4	121	107	5
"										
"										
"										
8010	40	3	1	12	1	80	4	97	95	18
8140	40	3	31	12	2	45	4	105	103	15

Appendix 2 (b)

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE.

RSCR
BY SCH
WITH AGE
SEX
ADC
IQ

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES.	DF	MEAN SQUARE.	F	SIGNIF OF F.
COVARIATES	70835.846	4	17708.961	76.535	0.000
AGE	399.574	1	399.574	1.727	0.189
SEX	220.769	1	220.769	0.954	0.329
ADC	4031.847	1	4031.847	17.425	0.000
IQ	67092.882	1	67092.882	289.964	0.000
MAIN EFFECTS	36660.187	2	18330.093	79.220	0.000
SCH	36660.187	2	18330.093	79.220	0.000
EXPLAINED	107496.031	6	17916.005	77.430	0.000
RESIDUAL	259612.375	1122	231.384		
TOTAL	367108.406	1128	325.451		

Appendix 2 (c)

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE.

ABSN
BY SCH
WITH AGE
SEX
ADC
IQ

Source of Variation.	Sum of Squares.	DF	Mean Square.	F	Signif. of F.
Covariates	1499571.550	4	374892.887	20.086	0.000
Age	5410.159	1	5410.159	0.290	0.590
Sex	617.477	1	617.477	0.033	0.856
ADC	1426198.830	1	1426198.830	76.413	0.000
IQ	54873.781	1	54873.781	2.940	0.087
Main Effects	29299.234	2	14649.617	0.785	0.456
Sch	29299.243	2	14649.621	0.785	0.456
Explained	1528870.750	6	254811.791	13.652	0.000
Residual	20941507.000	1122	18664.445		
Total	22470377.800	1128	19920.548		

Appendix 2 (d)

ABSENCE BY AGE AND S.E.S. OF PUPILS' ADDRESS.

	S.E.S. of Pupils' Address.				
AGE	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Average.
9	26.4	27.5	31.0	23.8	27.2
10	32.6	43.1	26.8	32.6	33.8
11	24.6	26.8	38.7	31.1	30.3
12	26.1	33.5	41.9	40.1	35.4
13	23.2	21.0	40.9	27.5	28.2
Average	26.6	30.4	35.9	31.0	

APPENDIX 3.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE.

To explore attitudes towards teaching in general and middle schools in particular.

1. Given the opportunity, which job would you most like to do ?
2. Do you consider teaching to be one of the most important jobs in our society ?
3. Which qualities do you regard as being most important in all teachers ?
4. In your present position, of the various tasks expected of you, which do you consider to be the most important ?
5. Which task do you think your Headmaster sees as most important ?
6. Which other tasks do you consider to be particularly valuable ?
7. What does the concept "middle school" mean to you ?
8. Why did you choose to work in a middle school ?
9. In your view why were middle schools introduced in this area ?
10. What consultation was undertaken when middle school re-organisation was proposed ?
11. What stage of schooling, in your view, is of most importance to the child ? Do you think a particular type of teacher is required at this stage ? Explain.
12. Do you think that teachers in middle schools should possess particular academic qualifications ?
13. Are "specialist" teachers vital to the middle school ? Explain.
14. Which subjects in the middle school curriculum particularly require specialist expertise ?
15. Is it a function of the middle school to prepare children specifically for courses in the High School ?
16. Would the existence of an examination at the end of a pupil's middle school course help or hinder your aim as a teacher ?
17. Other than examinations, what criteria do you use to assess the effectiveness of your teaching ?
18. Before joining the staff of this school, what was your previous teaching experience ?

19. From your experience, what difference do you note in the eleven and twelve year old children who are now in a middle school, compared to when the same age cohort was in a secondary situation ?

20. Do you participate in team teaching ?

21. What do you see as the strength and weakness of team teaching ?

22. Do you perceive any change in your professional status now that you are teaching in a middle school ?

23. Do you think that your career prospects will be improved or reduced in this kind of school ?

24. What skills and characteristics are required by a middle school Headteacher ?

25. Do you think that appointment boards share your perceptions concerning these skills and characteristics ?

26. Do you consider the function of a Headteacher to be similar in primary, middle and secondary schools ?

27. How do you think promotion should be determined within the school ?

28. Given the choice, would you re-introduce selective secondary schools ?

29. If not, would you like to see middle schools introduced throughout the country ?

30. What changes do you note in society's attitude towards teaching and schooling ?

31. Is there any aspect of this middle schools/years debate which you think we have overlooked in this discussion ?

Thank you for discussing these matters with me.

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